THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of *Rome* to the Ruin of the *Commonwealth.*

Illuſtrated with MAPS and other Plates.

VOL. III.

By N. HOOKE, Eſq;

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and R. TONSON; G. HAWKINS; and T. LONGMAN.

MDCCLXVI.

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THE

Roman Hiſtory.

SECOND BOOK.

From the eſtabliſhment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of *Rome* 243, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the *Gauls*.

CHAP. XXXV.

SECT. I. *The next year, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Numerius Fabius, *new diſſenſions ariſe in the Republick, on occaſion of a propoſal to add two Quæſtors to the two already eſtabliſhed. The* Tribunes *inſiſt that of the four one half ſhall be always* Plebeians. *The* Senate *oppoſe this, but are willing to leave the* People *free in their choice. The* Tribunes *not content, proteſt, by way of revenge, againſt holding the Comitia for electing* Conſuls. *The two parties come at length to this compromiſe, that* Military Tribunes *ſhall be elected to the Government, and that the* People *ſhall be free to chuſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *to the Quæſtorſhip. Notwithſtanding all that the* Tribunes *of* 332. Four Quæſtors.

the Commons *can do, the* People *chuſe not only the* Military Tribunes *but the* Quæſtors *too out of the*
333. Patricians *only. The* Tribunes *of the* Commons, *to vent their rage, renew the proſecution againſt* Sempronius *(whoſe kinſman* A. Sempronius, *one of the new* Military Tribunes, *had preſided in the Aſſembly for chuſing* Quæſtors) *and they get him fined.* §. II. *The following ſix years, to the year of* Rome 340, *the State is governed by* Military Tri-
334. bunes. *In* 334 *a conſpiracy of the ſlaves is diſco-*
335. *vered and prevented. In* 335 *the* Romans *have a war with the* Labicani *and* Æqui *united. The three* Military Tribunes *quarrel about the command of the army, one of the three being to ſtay in the city.* Q. Servilius, *formerly* Dictator, *the father of one of them, orders his ſon to remain at* Rome. *The other two take the field, and command alternately. The* Roman *army is routed. Young* Servilius *names his father to the* Dictatorſhip: *This great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the Republick, and then reſigns his office. The year*
336. 336 *is a year of peace. In the year* 337 *the* Tri-
337. bunes *revive the old quarrel about the diſtribution of the conquered lands.* Appius's *advice to the* Senate, *to raiſe a diviſion among thoſe Magiſtrates, is followed with ſucceſs. Six of them ſide with the* Patricians. *The like good underſtanding is*
338. *maintained the next year* (338) *between the Nobles*
339. *and ſome of the* Tribunes. §. III. *But in* 339 *the affair of the* Agrarian Law *is revived.* Poſthumius, *one of the* Military Tribunes *and General of the army, having promiſed the ſoldiers the plunder of* Bola *taken from the* Æqui, *afterwards*

wards breaks his word with them. Sextius, *one of the* Tribunes of the Commons, *to make the ſoldiers amends, propoſes that a colony of them ſhall be ſettled at* Bola, *and its territory divided among them.* Poſthumius *(who had been called to* Rome *to oppoſe* Sextius's *proceedings) threatens that it ſhall be the worſe for his men if any ſuch ſtep be made in their favour. The* Tribune *takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incenſe the* People *againſt the General; and a report of it being made in the camp, the ſoldiers mutiny and wound one of the Quæſtors; and* Poſthumius, *at his return to the camp, attempting to puniſh the guilty, is ſtoned by the ſoldiers. The Senate, fearing leſt the* People, *in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe* Plebeian Military Tribunes *for the next year* (340) *uſe all their endeavours to get Conſuls elected, and they prevail. The Faſces are transferred to* A. Cornelius Coſſus *and* L. Furius Medullinus, *who ſhew great moderation and prudence in the proſecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *Nothing very memorable, except a plague and famine, happens in the three following Conſulates. But in the year* 344, *when* Cn. Cornelius *and* L. Furius *(a ſecond time) are Conſuls, three* Tribunes *of the name of* Icilius *prevail with the* People *to chuſe three of the four* Quæſtors *out of the* Plebeians. *The* Senate *is likewiſe forced to conſent to the chuſing of* Military Tribunes *for the next year, but find means to diſappoint the* Icilii *in their expectation of being raiſed to that dignity. Three* Patricians *are choſen. Theſe being ordered by the* Senate

340.

344.

PLEBEIAN QUÆSTORS.

345.

nate *to name a* Dictator, *on occaſion of a war with the* Volſci, *two of them refuſe. The* Senate *hereupon has recourſe, as formerly, to the* Tribunes; *but theſe return a diſdainful anſwer, and will not meddle in the diſpute.* Servilius Ahala, *the third* Military Tribune, *names* P. Cornelius *Dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war.* Servilius's *two Collegues in anger againſt the* Senate *propoſe*

346. Military Tribunes *at the next election: However* Patricians *are choſen, and ſo likewiſe the next year.*

347. *The* Tribunes *of the* Commons, *provoked to the utmoſt, revenge themſelves by oppoſing the levies for a war with the* Veientes, *who had inſulted the* Roman *Ambaſſadors; and they make the old affair of the* Agrarian Law *their pretence. The* Senate *get the better of this oppoſition, by decreeing that the infantry ſhall hereafter have* Pay *out of the publick treaſury during the ſervice. The* People *joyfully confirm this Decree, and readily offer themſelves to be inliſted.*

Pay allowed to the Infantry.

CHAP. XXXVI.

348. §. I. *The* Romans *inveſt* Veii. *In the two firſt years of the ſiege (which laſted ten) there is little action.*

350. *The third year* (350 *of* Rome) *the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *made a ſtir about the hardſhip the ſoldiers ſuffer by being detained in the camp all the winter.* Appius Claudius, Military Tribune, *(grandſon of the* Decemvir) *aſſembles the People and inveighs againſt their* Tribunes *for their ſeditious behaviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loſs which the beſiegers ſuſtain before the place, animates*

Appius Claudius V.

animates the Plebeians *with a zeal to puſh on the ſiege with vigour. The Senate for the firſt time allow* PAY *to* THE HORSE. §. II. *The year following,* Sergius and Virginius *(two of the* Military Tribunes) *having the conduct of the ſiege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The* Faliſci *and* Capenates *(People of* Hetruria) *come to the aſſiſtance of the* Veientes, *and fall upon one ſide of* Sergius's *camp, while the beſieged ſally out and attack the other.* Virginius *refuſes to aſſiſt his Collegue; the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two Generals are both recalled. All the Military* Tribunes *of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are choſen. The* Tribunes *of the* Commons *raiſe ſuch diſturbances at* Rome *about the levies, that in the election of thoſe Magiſtrates the People cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of thoſe eight name two more, in defiance of the* Trebonian Law. C. Trebonius, *one of the preſent* Tribunes, *draws the hatred of the People upon three of his Collegues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themſelves by turning it againſt* Sergius *and* Virginius *(the Generals of the laſt year) who are both fined for miſconduct.* §. III. *The* Tribunes *renew the domeſtick broils: But all it quieted by the chuſing ſome* Plebeians *into the* Military Tribuneſhip. *At the next elections the Comitia chuſe five* Plebeians *to that dignity, and only one* Patrician. *The arms of the Republick proſper, but there happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the* Lectiſternium *is obſerved.* §. IV. *The Senate take advantage of the People's fears and ſuperſtition, to get*

PAY allowed to the HORSE, 351.

352.

PLEBEIAN MILITARY TRIBUNES.

353.

354.

355. *the* Military Tribuneſhip *for* Patricians *only*; *pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of* Plebeians *to that Magiſtracy. The lake of* Alba *overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old* Veientan *ſoldier having delivered a prophecy, that* Veii *ſhould not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, Deputies are ſent from* Rome *to conſult the Oracle of* 356. Delphos. *Theſe return the next year with an anſwer agreeable to the old man's prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being diſcovered in the inauguration of the preſent* Military Tribunes, *they all abdicate, and ſix new ones are choſen all* Plebeians. 357. *Their adminiſtration not being proſperous,* Camillus *is named* Dictator. §. V. *He takes* Veii *by ſap.*

Camillus takes Veii.

CHAP. XXXVII.

§. I. *The People are much diſpleaſed with* Camillus *on account of ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; but much more for demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of* Veii, *to diſcharge a vow which he had made to* Apollo *juſt before the aſſault, and which he had afterwards forgot. The* Roman *Ladies contribute their Jewels to make a golden vaſe for* Apollo. §. II. *The next year (the Republick being under the Government of ſix* Military Tribunes, *all* Patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, *a* Tribune *of the* Commons, *propoſes that half of the Senators, Knights, and* People *of* Rome *ſhould remove to* Veii, *and ſettle there. After much ſtruggle* Camillus *and the other Senators bring this project to nothing.*

358.

thing. §. III. Camillus *is choſen one of the ſix* Military Tribunes *for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war againſt the* Faliſci. *He beſieges* Falerii *their capital city. A ſchool-maſter to whom the ſons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his truſt, and puts all the children into the hands of* Camillus. *The* Roman *deteſting both the treachery and the traitor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The* Faliſci *moved by this generous action, ſubmit to the* Romans, *who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expences of the Campaign. During this tranſaction, two of* Camillus's *Collegues gain a victory over the* Æqui. §. IV. *The* People, *when the time comes for electing their* Tribunes, *chuſe to the ſame office thoſe of the old ones who had appeared for the propoſal of removing half the* People *to* Veii. *On the other hand, the* Patricians *get Conſular Government reſtored.* L. Lucretius *and* Servius Sulpitius *are elected Conſuls.* Sicinius *the* Tribune, *Author of the project of going to* Veii, *gets two of his late Collegues fined for having oppoſed it. This project is debated in an Aſſembly of the* People, *and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The Senate decree ſeven acres of the lands of* Veii *to every freeman of* Rome. §. V. L. Valerius *and* M. Manlius *are choſen Conſuls for the next year. The* Volſinienſes, *a* People *of* Hetruria, *take arms againſt* Rome. *The Conſuls being ſeized with a contagious diſtemper, reſign the Faſces. An Inter-regnum enſues. And then ſix* Military Tribunes *are elected to the Government.*

359.

360.

361.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

362. §. I. *An accuſation is brought againſt* Camillus, *for having taken to his own uſe ſome part of the ſpoil of* Veii. *To avoid the diſgrace of a condemnation, he baniſhes himſelf.* §. II. *Shortly after,* Cluſium *in* Hetruria *being beſieged by the* Gauls *under King* Brennus, *the Inhabitants implore the aſſiſtance of the* Romans. *Three brothers of the name of* Fabius *are ſent Ambaſſadors from* Rome *to mediate a peace between the contending powers.* Brennus *gives them a haughty reception. The* Fabii *young and indiſcreet, having entered the town, put themſelves at the head of the* Cluſians, *and make a ſally with them againſt the beſiegers.* Q. Fabius *with his own hand kills one of their Captains.* Brennus *provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raiſes the ſiege, and marches ſtrait towards* Rome. *He ſends a Herald, and demands that the Ambaſſadors be delivered up to him. The* Romans, *inſtead of complying with this demand, chuſe the* Fabii *to the* Military Tribuneſhip, *and place them at the head of*

363. *the army which is to act againſt the* Gauls. §. III. Brennus *gives the* Romans *a total overthrow on the banks of the* Allia. *The third day after the Battle, he enters* Rome, *the gates of it being left open, moſt of the citizens fled, and the Senate, with all they were capable to bear away, retired into the* Capitol. Brennus *finds about* 80 *venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death, ſitting in the* Forum *in robes and chairs of ſtate. They are all ſlain. The* Capitol *is inveſted, and the City burnt.*

§. IV.

CAMILLUS baniſhed. King BRENNUS.

§. IV. Camillus *(who in his exile reſided at* Ardea) *puts himſelf at the head of the* Ardeates, *ſurprizes and cuts off ſome detachments of* Gauls *ſent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the* Romans, *who were diſperſed about the territory of* Rome, *aſſemble, and ſend a requeſt to him to be their General. He declines it; till a young man, diſpatched away to the* Capitol *for that purpoſe, brings him from the* Senate *a commiſſion, which conſtitutes him* Dictator. §. V. *While* Camillus *is aſſembling an army, the* Gauls *attempt to ſcale the* Capitol *in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is diſcovered by the cackling of ſome geeſe. The aſſailants are repulſed, chiefly by the bravery of* M. Manlius. Camillus *hinders all proviſions from coming to the enemy.* §. VI. *Both beſiegers and beſieged being diſtreſſed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The* Romans *are to purchaſe a peace with* 1000 lb. *weight of gold. While the gold is weighing,* Camillus *arrives: He breaks off the treaty, and forces the* Gauls *to raiſe the ſiege and quit the country.* §. VII. Rome *being deſtroyed, the* Tribunes *renew the propoſal of removing to* Veii. Camillus *(who is continued in the* Dictatorſhip *the whole year) oppoſes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the* People *to ſtay and rebuild the city.* Manlius *is rewarded.* Q. Fabius *the Ambaſſador, who by his blameable conduct had provoked the* Gauls *againſt* Rome, *kills himſelf to avoid a publick condemnation.* §. VIII. *Before the end of the next year (during which the Commonwealth is governed by ſix* Military Tribunes) *the* CITY *is intirely* REBUILT.

ROME burnt.

M. Manlius.

364.

365.

ROME rebuilt.

THIRD

THIRD BOOK.

From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having ſubdued ALL ITALY, began the firſt PUNICK or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Nations bordering upon the* Roman *State reſolve, if poſſible, to cruſh it before it can recover its former ſtrength. The* Military Tribunes *march an army againſt the* Volſci *and* Latines, *but by ill conduct ſuffer it to be incloſed by the enemy.* Camillus *hereupon is, a third time, named* Dictator; *he raiſes new forces, reſcues the army in diſtreſs, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the* Æqui, *ſubdues the* Volſci, *and*
366. *recovers* Sutrium *from the* Hetrurians. §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth is again governed by* Military Tribunes) *the* Roman *arms proſper abroad. The year following is a year of peace.*
Four new Tribes. FOUR NEW TRIBES *are added to the* TWENTY-ONE. §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes*
367. *the* Romans *chuſe* Camillus *to be one of the ſix* Mi-
362. litary

litary Tribunes *for the next year. He leads the* Roman *troops, firſt againſt the* Volſci *of* Antium, *and then againſt the* Hetrurians; *and has ſucceſs in both expeditions. The* Latines *and* Hernici *ſubmit.*

CHAP. II.

§. I. *The next year* Military Tribunes *being again choſen to the Government* M. Manlius *(who ſaved the Capitol) uſes ſuch methods to make himſelf popular, as alarm the* Senate. *They name* A. Cornelius Coſſus Dictator. *He ſummons* Manlius *to appear before him.* Manlius *not anſwering directly to the* Dictator's *queſtion is committed to priſon,* Coſſus *ſoon after reſigns the* Dictatorſhip. *The* Senate *fearing the rage of the* People, *who are devoted to* Manlius, *ſet him at liberty.* §. II. Camillus *is choſen one of the* Military Tribunes *for the next year. Two of the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *impeach* Manlius *of Treaſon, and, by ſentence of the* People, *he is thrown headlong from the* Tarpeian *rock.* 369. 370. M. Manlius put to death.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *During the ſix following years, and the beginning of the ſeventh,* Rome *is almoſt intirely free from civil diſſenſions; but wars are carried on abroad againſt the* Prænestini *and* Volſci, *with very little interruption.* Camillus *being one of the* Military Tribunes *in the year* 373, *gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when diſreſpectfully treated by one of his Collegues.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

377. § I. *The lower ſort of the* People *of* Rome *are over-awed and oppreſs'd by the Great and the Rich; and the* Commons *in general loſe that ſpirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles.* §. II. *In the midſt of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman ſets three bold and enterpriſing men at work to raiſe the fortune of the* Plebeians *higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the* Conſulſhip *for perſons of that order. The three who form this deſign are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, *the Lady's Father, (a* Patrician) C. Licinius Stolo, *her Huſband (a* Plebeian) *and* L. Sextius, *another* Plebeian *of great diſtinction. The two latter having obtained the office of* Tribunes of
LICINIAN LAWS. the People, *propoſe a law for the reſtraining of Uſury, another to prohibit any citizen from poſſeſſing more than* 500 *acres of land, and a third to reſtore the* Conſulate, *and make it an eſtabliſh'd rule for the future, that of the two* Conſuls *one ſhall indiſpenſably be a* Plebeian. *The* Senate *and* Patricians *on this occaſion gain over to them eight of the* Tribunes, *who pronouncing the word* Veto *when the affair is brought before the* Tribes, *quaſh*
378. *the whole project for the preſent.* §. III. Licinius *and* Sextius *in revenge, and to gain their point, being continued in the office of* Tribunes *of the* Commons, *oppoſe and hinder for four years ſucceſſively any election of* Military Tribunes; *and the Republick falls into a kind of anarchy. But,*
382. *in the fifth year, a new war breaking out obliges them*

them to deſiſt from their oppoſition; and then ſix Military Tribunes, *all* Patricians, *are choſen to the government. The war continuing,* Military 383.
Tribunes *are again elected, and theſe too are ſix men of the* Patrician *order. Nevertheleſs, as* Fabius Ambuſtus *happens to be one of the number,* Sextius *and* Licinius, *having his countenance and aſſiſtance, take this opportunity to renew their propoſal of the three Laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that Ten Guardians, inſtead of Two, ſhall have the care of the* Sybilline *Books, and that of theſe ten, five ſhall be* Plebeian. *The determination of the whole affair is ſuſpended on account of the abſence of ſo many Citizens, as are imployed in the war.*
§. IV. *The next year the Republick has again ſix* 384.
Patrician *Governors, but the* Senate *is obliged to have recourſe to a* Dictator, *and* Camillus *is rais'd (a fourth time) to that dignity. He diſperſes by his* 385.
authority an aſſembly of the Tribes, which the Tribunes *had convened in order to get the Laws paſſed; and preſently after reſigns his poſt.* §. V. P. Manlius *is choſen* Dictator *in his room. This* Dictator *names a* Plebeian *to be his* General of the Horſe, *the firſt inſtance of ſuch a nomination.* Plebeian General of the Horſe.
The Tribunes *having a ſupreme magiſtrate ſo favourable to them, think of puſhing their affair with freſh vigour; but the* People *themſelves grow cold and indifferent as to that part of the project which relates to the* Conſulate. Sextius *and* Licinius, *enraged hereat, tell them plainly in a general aſſembly, that either that law, which qualifies* Plebeians *for the Conſulate, ſhall paſs, or none; and that if they perſiſt in ſuch ingratitude to their pro-*

protectors, they will no longer ſerve in the office of the Tribuneſhip. Appius Claudius *(grandſon of the* Decemvir) *makes a ſpeech, expatiating on the inſolence ſhewn in ſuch a declaration. The deciſion of the affair is put off. Soon after the* Commons *obtain the Law concerning the* Sybils *Books, and then ſuffer new* Military Tribunes *to be choſen,*
386. *all* Patricians. § VI. *The conteſt relating to the other Laws is revived with great heat, but is again ſuſpended by the approach of an army of* Gauls. Camillus *is appointed* Dictator *(a fifth time.) He defeats the enemy, and has a Triumph at his return to* Rome. §. VII. *The* Tribunes Sextius *and* Licinius *being reſolved to carry their point, ſummon the Tribes and proceed immediately to take the voices. Upon the* Dictator's *oppoſing their meaſures, they ſend an officer to ſeize him and carry him to priſon. This cauſes a great commotion and ſtruggle. The* Dictator *and* Senate *retire to the* Senate-houſe *to conſider what is beſt to be done, and they come to a reſolution to concede that one of*
PLEBEIAN CONSUL. *the Conſuls may be* Plebeian. *Hereupon the Centuries chuſe* L. Æmilius *and* L. Sextius *(the* Tribune) *to the* Conſulate. *But now the* Senate *refuſes to confirm the election of the latter, which occaſions new and warm contentions. The* Dictator, *to quiet them, propoſes, that the prerogative of judging in civil cauſes be taken from the* Conſulate,
PRÆTORS. *and* Prætors *be appointed to perform that function, and that theſe* Prætors *be always* Patricians. *Hereto both parties agree, and the* Senate *acquieſce*
387. *in having a* Plebeian Conſul. §. VIII. *The* Curule Ædileſhip *is eſtabliſh'd in favour of the* Patricians.

tricians. *The* Tribunes *ſoon after obtain, that* Plebeians *may be choſen to the Curule Ædileſhip.* 387. CURULE ÆDILES.
§ IX. *The next year,* L. Genucius *and* Q. Servilius *being* Conſuls, *a dreadful plague in* Rome *carries off many perſons of diſtinction, among whom is the great* Camillus. 388. CAMILLUS dies.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *In the following* Conſulate (*of* C. Sulpicius *and* C. Licinius Stolo) *the plague continuing, and the* Romans, *to remove it, having in vain tried the ſuperſtitious ceremony of the* Lectiſternium, *they endeavour to appeaſe the Gods by inſtituting to their honour the* Scenic Shews. *This expedient alſo failing, they try another the next year* (L. Æmilius (the 2d time) *and* Cn. Genucius *being* Conſuls) *which is, to create a* Dictator *to* drive a Nail *into the wall of the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. *The plague ceaſes; but* L. Manlius Imperioſus *the* Dictator *is unwilling to reſign his authority, and uſes violence to make the* People *liſt themſelves for a war with the* Hernici. *The* Tribunes *however oblige him to abdicate; and in the following Conſulate of* Q. Servilius *and* L. Genucius *(both* Conſuls *a 2d time) he is cited by the* Tribune Pomponius *to anſwer for his miſconduct during his* Dictatorſhip, *and particularly for his cruelty to his own ſon, named* Titus. *The ſon, who was in the country, hearing of what had paſs'd, comes to* Rome, *ſurprizes* Pomponius *in his bed, and, by threatening to ſtab him, makes him ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution. The* 389. 390. L. Manlius Imperioſus. 391.

People, *leaſed with the filial piety of young* Manlius, *give him ſoon after the poſt of* Legionary Tribune *(or Colonel.)* §. II. *In this ſame year the earth opens on a ſudden in the midſt of the* Forum, *and continues open, to the great terror of the* CURTIUS. *City.* M. Curtius, *a young* Patrician, *moved by an obſcure anſwer of the* Augurs, *who had been thereupon conſulted, leaps into the gulph compleatly armed and on horſeback. Some authors ſay, that the earth immediately cloſed.* §. III. *The* Conſul PLEBEIAN GENERAL. Genucius, *the* FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome *had ever placed at* the head of an Army, *conducts the war againſt the* Hernici. *He falls into an ambuſh, his Legions are routed, and he himſelf ſlain. This diſaſter is imputed by the* Patricians *to the anger of the Gods on account of the profanation of the Augural Ceremonies, by inaugurating a* Plebeian. *The ſurviving* Conſul *names* Appius Claudius Dictator, *who, carrying on the war, gains a victory,* 392. *but with great loſs.* §. IV. *The* People, *notwithſtanding the clamours of the* Patricians, *chuſe* Licinius Stolo *(that famous* Plebeian) *a 2d time to the Conſulate. They give him for a Collegue* C. Sulpicius Peticus. *But the* Tyburtes *revolting ſoon after, and it being ſuſpected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a ſecret promiſe of aſſiſtance from the* Gauls, *it is thought neceſſary to create a* Dictator. T. Quinctius Pennas *is named to that dignity. The* Gauls *advance within three miles of* Rome, *incamping on the banks of the* Anio. *The* Romans *pitch their camp on the oppoſite ſide, a bridge parts the two armies. On this* T. Manlius Torquatus. *bridge young* Manlius *in ſingle combat ſlays the mightieſt*

mightieſt champion of the Gauls, *a man of gigantick ſtature; which accident ſo diſcourages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confuſion. The next year (in the Conſulate of* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* C. Pœtelius Libo) *the* Gauls *appear again in the neighbourhood of* Rome; *and the* Romans *(under the conduct of* Servilius Ahala, *created* Dictator) *once more defeat them. The two* Conſuls *make war with ſucceſs againſt the* Tyburtes *and the* Hernici. 393.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The* Faſces *are transferred to* M. Popilius Lænas *and* Cn. Manlius. *A domeſtick ſedition, ſoon quell'd, an incurſion of the* Tyburtes, *ſoon repulſed, and the commencement of a new war againſt* Rome *by the* Tarquinienſes, *are the chief events of this* Conſulſhip. 394.

§. II. *The ſucceeding* Conſuls *are* C. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* C. Plautius Proculus. *The* Gauls *appear on a ſudden in the plains of* Præneſte. *Hereupon* C. Sulpicius *is named* Dictator, *who with an army ſtrengthen'd by the* Latines *(who now renew their ancient treaties with* Rome) *marches againſt the* Gauls. *The* Dictator *for prudential reaſons avoids an engagement with the enemy, till he is forced to it by the mutinying of his ſoldiers, impatiently ardent to fight. By the help of a new ſtratagem he obtains a compleat victory. He has a triumph at his return, and then reſigns the Government to the Conſuls.* Plautius *ſubdues the* Hernici, *but* Fabius *is van-* 395.

Two new Tribes. *quiſhed by the* Tarquinienſes. §. III. Two NEW TRIBES *are form'd. A Law is paſs'd againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. Another (in the following adminiſtration of* C. Marcius Rutilus *and* Cn. Manlius, *who is now a 2d time* Conſul) *fixing the legal intereſt of money at One* per Cent.
396. Licinius Stolo, *author of the law againſt any man's poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is paſſed againſt holding the* Comitia *in any place but*
397. Rome. §. IV. *New* Conſuls *are choſen.* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* M. Popilius Lænas *(both a 2d time;) but, the* Faliſci *and* Tarquinienſes *having engaged all* Hetruria *to take part with them againſt* Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, *the* PLEBEIAN Conſul *of the laſt year, is named* DICTATOR *by* Popilius *the* Plebeian Conſul *of this, to the great diſpleaſure of the Nobles. He obtains a compleat victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the* Senate. *However, he is not ſuffered (becauſe a* Plebeian) *to hold the* Comitia *for the new election of Conſuls. The aſſembly is held by an* Inter-rex, *and then* TWO Patricians (C. Sulpicius Peticus *(a third time)*
398. *and* M. Valerius) *are choſen to the Conſulate, contrary to the intent of one of the* Licinian *laws, and the cuſtom for eleven years paſt. The next year the* Faſces *are again in the hands of* two Patricians.
399. *Theſe are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *(a third time* Conſul) *and* T. Quinctius Pennas. *The former ſubdues the* Tyburtes, *the latter defeats the* Tarquinienſes. *(The* Samnites *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.) *The Nobles prevail once more*

Plebeian Dictator.

to

to have only Patricians *in the Government.* C. Sulpicius Peticus *(a fourth time) and* M. Valerius *(a ſecond time) are promoted to the* Conſulate. *The former is appointed to lead an army into* Hetruria *againſt the* Tarquinienſes *and* Faliſci; *the latter another againſt the* Volſci; *and ſoon after* T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) *is named* DICTATOR *to conduct a third army againſt the* Cœrites. *The* Cœrites *ſubmit. The* Conſuls *act only on the defenſive.* 400. DICTATOR who had not been Conſul.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The* Tribunes of the People *oppoſe the holding of the* Comitia *for electing new Magiſtrates, till the* Dictatorſhip *of* Manlius *and the* Conſular *Year are expired; and during the* Inter-regnum, *that follows, they prevail to have* C. Marcius Rutilus, *a* Plebeian, *raiſed (now a 2d time) to the* Conſulate *with* P. Valerius. *Theſe Magiſtrates take effectual meaſures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *Upon a falſe rumour that the twelve* Lucumonies *of* Hetruria *are preparing for a war with* Rome, Julius Iulus *is named* Dictator. Julius *imploys his influence to get two* Patricians *choſen to the* Conſulate *for the next year. The* People, *tho' they oppoſe this deſign, and hinder the meeting of the* Centuries *during his* Dictatorſhip, *ſuffer* C. Sulpicius *(now a fifth time) and* T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *both* Patricians, *to be declared* Conſuls, *when the* Comitia *are afterwards held by an* Inter-rex. *Nevertheleſs, in this very* 401. 403.

Conſulate *the* Commons *prevail for the firſt time to have a* PLEBEIAN *choſen to the* CENSORSHIP. *This was the ſame* C. Marcius Rutilus *who had been created* Dictator *in* 397. §. III. *And notwithſtanding that the preſent* Conſuls *name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for the election of their ſucceſſors, in order to get two* Patricians *choſen,* M. Popilius Lænas, *a* Plebeian, *is promoted (now a 3d time) to the* Conſulate *with* L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius *falling ſick, the* Plebeian Conſul *has the ſole conduct of a new war with the* Gauls. M. Valerius *the* PRÆTOR *of* Rome *is placed at the head of an army to defend the City; this being the firſt inſtance of a* PRÆTOR's *acting as a* GENERAL. Popilius *defeats the* Gauls *in battle; but being diſabled from doing buſineſs, by a wound, and his Collegue continuing ſick, they name* Furius Camillus Dictator, *to hold the* Comitia *for the new Elections, where the* Dictator *himſelf, with* Appius Claudius Craſſus (*both* Patricians) *are choſen* Conſuls. Appius *dying ſhortly after,* Camillus *is ſuffer'd to govern the Republick without a Collegue. He marches a powerful army againſt the* Gauls, *who had ſpread themſelves on the ſea-coaſt of* Latium. M. VALERIUS (*afterwards ſurnamed* CORVUS) *a Legionary* Tribune, *kills in ſingle combat a champion of the* Gauls, *and this occaſions a general action, in which the* Romans *obtain the victory.* Camillus *being obliged ſtill to keep the field, in order to hinder the deſcent of ſome* Greek *pirates on the coaſt, names* T. Manlius Dictator, *to hold the* Comitia *for the new Elections.* Manlius, *pleaſed with the exploit of* Valerius, *reſembling what*

PLEBEIAN CENSOR.

403.

A PRÆTOR commands an army.

404.

Valerius Corvus.

Conſul twenty-three years old.

what he himſelf had formerly done, influences the People *to chuſe him, tho' but twenty-three years of age, to be one of the* Conſuls. *The Collegue given him is* Popilius Lænas, *now promoted the fourth time to that dignity.* 405.

§. IV. *The* Romans *conclude a Treaty with the* Carthaginians. Treaty with Carthage.

§. V. *In the following* Conſulate *of* C. Plautius Hypſæus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus *the Intereſt of Money is lower'd to* Half per Cent. 406.

A new war with the Volſci *breaks out during the adminiſtration of their ſucceſſors,* Valerius Corvus *(now a 2d time* Conſul) *and* C. Pœtelius Libo. Valerius *defeats the enemy, takes from them* Satricum, *and burns it. The* Secular Games *are celebrated for the ſecond time according to* Faſt. Cap. 407.

§. VI. *The next year's* Conſuls, M. Fabius Dorſo *and* S. Sulpicius Camerinus, *name* L. Furius Camillus *to be* Dictator *(a* 2*d* time) *on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the* Aurunci. Furius *overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a Temple, which he had vowed, during the action, to* Juno Moneta. 408.

The year following, the Romans *imagining that the Goddeſs, conformable to her name* MONETA, admoniſh'd *them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods,* C. Marcius Rutilus *(now* Conſul *a* 2*d time) and* T. Manlius (Conſul *a* 2*d time) appoint* P. Valerius *to be* Dictator, *to order the Celebration of the* Feriæ Latinæ. 409.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. *In the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* M. Valerius Corvus *(a* 3*d time* Conſul) *and* Cornelius 410.

Coſſius Arvina, *happens the* FIRST RUPTURE *between the* ROMANS *and* SAMNITES, *on occaſion of a war which the latter had carried on with ſucceſs againſt the people of* Capua *in* Campania. *The* Campanians, *to engage the* Romans *to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs, make a ſurrendry of themſelves and their country to the Republick. Hereupon* Valerius *is directed to march an army into* Campania, *and* Cornelius *to carry the war into* Samnium. Valerius, *in an action with the* Samnites, *has the advantage.* §. II. Cornelius, *on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings his army into danger of being intirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by a Legionary* Tribune *named* P. Decius Mus; *and preſently after, following the advice of the ſame* Decius, *he gains a victory over the* Samnites, *who loſe* 30,000 *men in the action.* Decius *is rewarded with many honours.* § III. Valerius *obtains a ſecond victory over the* Samnites *in* Campania. *Theſe ſucceſſes make the* Romans *reſpected abroad.*

SAMNITE WAR.

Decius Mus.

CHAP. IX.

411. §. I. C. Marcius Rutilus *is elected (the 4th time) to the* Conſulate, *and with him* Q. Servilius Ahala. *The former marches an army into* Campania. *He finds a general depravation of manners in ſome Cohorts of* Roman *ſoldiers, who had been left in* Capua *all the winter; and diſcovers that they had plotted to make that delightful City their own, and to ſettle there. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he art-*

artfully contrives to ſend away the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. The ſoldiers at length ſuſpecting it, are alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment. All the ſoldiers of one Cohort deſert. Theſe having poſted themſelves advantageouſly near Anxur, *are ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the City and the Camp. They force one* Quinctius, *an old ſoldier, whom they find imployed in huſbandry, to be their leader to conduct them to* Rome. Valerius Corvus *is hereupon named* Dictator, *to march an army againſt the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from* Rome, *comes to a parley with them, and, being a man extremely beloved by the ſoldiers, prevails with them to ſubmit; yet the Rebels, beſides pardon, obtain ſome conceſſions from the Republick.*

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The* Romans, *by theſe condeſcenſions to the Rebels, loſe credit among their neighbours.* Privernum *revolts, but is quickly reduced by* C. Plautius Hypſæus *(now the 2d time* Conſul.) *His Collegue* L. Æmilius *lays waſte the country of the* Samnites, *who thereupon ſue for peace, and an alliance with* Rome. *Theſe being obtained, they turn their arms once more againſt the* Sidicini, *who being refuſed ſuccour by the* Senate *at* Rome, *even upon the terms of being ſubject to the Republick, give themſelves to the* Latines, *already in arms, to recover their independence. The* Campanians *join the* Latines. *An army, formed of theſe three nations, enters* Samnium, 412.

but

but ſoon retires. §. II. *The* Samnites *ſend an embaſſy to the Republick, to complain of her ſuffering the* Latines *and* Campanians *to commit hoſtilities in* Samnium. *They receive an anſwer unſatisfactory to them, offenſive to the* Campanians, *and which, ſeeming to betray a ſenſe of weakneſs in the* Romans, *elates the ſpirits of the* Latines. Manlius Torqua-
413. tus *is promoted (a 3d time) to the Conſulate with* P. Decius Mus. Alexander *King of* Epirus, *uncle of* Alexander *the Great, comes into* Italy *on the invitation of the* Tarentines, *to make war with the* Bruttians, *and concludes an alliance of friendſhip with* Rome. §. III. *The* Romans *ſummon ten of the* Latine *Chiefs to appear at* Rome, *and give account of their preparations for war. The* Latine *Council ſend* L. Annius *with nine more to* Rome, *to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that* one of the Conſuls and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future
LATINE WAR. choſen out of the LATINES. *This demand is rejected with indignation, and war is declared.* §. IV. Manlius *and* Decius *having marched two armies into the field, and incamped near the enemy, dream both of them the ſame dream concerning the event of the*
Severity of Manlius Torquatus. *war.* §. V. *The* Conſul Manlius *cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded, for having fought in ſingle combat with one of the enemies officers, tho' he prov'd victorious; becauſe he had fought without leave from his General.* §. VI. *The* Romans *come to a battle with the* Latines. *The wing where the*
Devotement of DECIUS. Conſul Decius *commands beginning to loſe ground, he, to recover the day to his party, and purſuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream,*

dream, devotes *himſelf to death, ruſhing alone into the thickeſt of the enemy. His troops getting freſh courage and ſtrength from ſuperſtition, and* Manlius *conducting the battle with great ſkill, the* Latines *are totally routed, and fly to* Minturnæ. Manlius *gives them a ſecond overthrow, after which both they and the* Campanians *ſubmit, and are moſt of them diſpoſſeſs'd of their lands.* §. VII. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Publilius *and* T. Æmilius *ſome of the* Latines *rebel, and form two armies.* Publilius *ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, is decreed a Triumph.* Æmilius, *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the other, is refuſed that honour. Hereupon he inveighs againſt the* Senate, *and incites the* People *to ſedition; and becauſe the* Senate, *to prevent diſturbances, order him to name a* Dictator, *he in revenge nominates to that dignity his* Plebeian *Collegue. The* Dictator, *during his whole adminiſtration, imploys his power and influence for the advantage of the* Plebeians *and obtains ſome laws in their favour. The* Senate *to pique* Æmilius, *tender of his honour, enable the next year's* Conſuls, L. Furius Camillus *and* C. Mænius, *to finiſh with glory the war which he had left unfiniſhed.* §. VIII. *The* Romans *determine the fate of the ſeveral conquered Cities. The* Latines, *from being* Allies, *are made* Subjects *of* Rome. 414. 415. LATINES ſubjected.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *In the following Conſulate of* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* P. Ælius Pœtus, PUBLILIUS, *tho' a* Plebeian, *obtains the* PRÆTORSHIP; *ſo that all the* 416. PLEBEIAN PRÆTOR.

the great Dignities in the State, except thoſe of the Prieſthood, are now common to the two Orders. From this year 416, *to the year* 425, *the moſt memorable events are, The invention of Moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries, by the* Conſul M. Valerius Corvus *(in the year* 418) *at the ſiege of* Cale, *the chief City of the* Auſones, *allies of the* Sidicini. *The Republick's changing the cuſtom of raiſing a new army upon every change of* Conſuls. *The reduction of the* Sidicini *(probably in* 420.) *The addition of two new Tribes (in* 421) *to the* 27 *old ones. A plot formed (in* 422) *by ſome hundreds of* Roman *Women to poiſon their Huſbands. The revolt of* Privernum *(in* 423) *the reduction of that City (in* 424) *and the courageous and noble anſwer given by one of the Citizens, when queſtioned by the* Roman Senate *concerning the conduct which the* Privernates *would obſerve for the future.*

418. Two new Tribes. 422. Privernates. 424.

CHAP. XII.

425. §. I. *The next year (in the conſulate of* C. Plautius Proculus *and* P. Cornelius Scapula) *the* Romans *give umbrage to the* Samnites, *by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the* Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *Territory.* § II. *A remarkable inſtance of the* Romans *abhorrence of Malice, in the proſecution of a criminal.* §. III. *The* Faſces *being transferred to* Q. Publilius *(now a 2d time* Conſul) *and* L. Cornelius Lentulus, *the former marches an army againſt the* Palæpolitans. Cornelius *incamps another near* Capua, *to keep in awe the* Campanians, *who are thought*

426.

thought to be gain'd over by the Samnites, *between whom and the Republick there is a new rupture.*
§. IV. *The next year's* Conſuls, C. Pœtelius Libo *and* L. Papirius Mugillanus, *having their forces ſtrengthened by the* Lucanians, *and* Apulians, *take ſome Towns from the* Samnites. *And* Publilius *(who with the Title of* PROCONSUL *is continued at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the laſt year when* Conſul) *takes* Palæpolis *by means of a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens. For this exploit* Publilius, *tho' but a* Proconſul, *is decreed a* TRIUMPH. §. V. *The* Tarentines *having loſt their protector King* Alexander *of* Epirus, *and being jealous of the growing power of* Rome, *by an artful ſtratagem deprive her of all aſſiſtance from the* Lucanians, *ſeducing them into a league with the* Samnites. §. VI. *About this time the infamous paſſion of a* Roman, *named* Papirius, *for one of his inſolvent Debtors, occaſions the paſſing of a law at* Rome, *whereby* CREDITORS *are diſabled from* ſeizing the Perſons *of their* DEBTORS.

417. A Proconſul triumphs. A Law in favour of Debtors.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. *The* Veſtini, *a People on the coaſt of the* Adriatick *ſea, take arms againſt* Rome, *in the Conſulate of* L. Furius Camillus *and* D. Junius Brutus. Brutus *defeats them in battle.* §. II. Camillus, *who was to act againſt the* Samnites, *falling ſick, names to the* Dictatorſhip L. Papirius Curſor, *who appoints* Quintus Fabius Rullianus *to be his General of the Horſe. The* Dictator *having taken the field againſt*

428. Papirius Curſor and Q. Fabius.

gainſt the Samnites, *returns ſoon after to* Rome *on account of ſome Religious Scruple, but firſt forbids* Fabius *to hazard a battle with the enemy during his abſence.* Fabius *nevertheleſs attacks the* Samnites, *and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the ſpoil, that it may not do honour to the* Dictator, *by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion.* Papirius *haſtens back to the camp to puniſh his diſobedient* General of the Horſe. Fabius *is reſcued out of the hands of the* Lictors, *and eſcapes to* Rome. *His father immediately gets the* Senators *together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him.* Papirius *arrives on a ſudden, takes his place in the* Senate, *and orders his* Lictors *to ſeize young* Fabius. *The father hereupon appeals to the* People. Papirius, *tho' the thing is unprecedented, does not diſpute the legality of the appeal; but the* People *themſelves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpoſe their Authority; they chuſe rather to become interceſſors with the* Dictator, *who*
429. *at their requeſt pardons the offender.* §. III. Papirius *returns to the camp with a new General of the Horſe, and finding his army ill-affected to him, becauſe of his ſeverity in command, changes his manner on a ſudden, becomes familiar with his ſoldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the* Samnites *to ſue for peace.* §. IV. *The* Senate *grant the* Samnites *only a year's truce, which the latter break ſo ſoon as they hear that* Papirius *has quitted the* Dictatorſhip: *They are joined by the*
430. Apulians. *Little progreſs is made in the war this year, when* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* Q. Aulius Cerretanus *are* Conſuls. *But their ſucceſſors,* Q. Fabius

Fabius (*who had been General of the Horſe to* Papirius) *and* L. Fulvius Curvus, *by ſkilful conduct obtain a compleat victory over the enemy.* §. V. *The* Samnites *repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the* Romans *by making reſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the Treaty.* 431.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Samnites *being refuſed a Peace, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction they have made for the breach of the Truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour; and they appoint one* Pontius, *an able officer, to be their General. At* Rome T. Veturius *and* Sp. Poſthumius *are choſen* Conſuls. Pontius *by a ſtratagem draws theſe Generals with their Legions into a dangerous paſs (called afterwards the* Caudine Forks) *where they are ſurrounded by the* Samnites, *and have no poſſibility of forcing their way out of it. The* Samnite *General being undetermined in what manner to treat the* Romans, *is adviſed by his father, either in a friendly way to ſet them all free, or without mercy to cut them all off. The ſon, rejecting this advice, will ſpare the lives of the* Romans, *but demands as the condition,* That they all paſs unarm'd under the Yoke, Officers and Soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of *Samnium*, and give hoſtages for the performance of this article. *The* Romans, *after ſome demur, ſubmit to the terms impoſed, being exhorted to it by* L. Lentulus, *a conſiderable Officer in the army. The* Conſuls, *at their return to* Rome, *being* 432. Caudine Forks.

being aſhamed to appear in publick, inſtantly name a Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for electing new* Conſuls. *This election however is not made till the Go-*
433. *vernment falls into an* Inter-regnum. §. II. *And then the* Faſces *are given to* Papirius Curſor *(a 2d time) and to* Publilius Philo *(a 3d time.) The Treaty made with the* Samnites *being laid before the* Senate, Poſthumius *(one of thoſe* Conſuls *who had been parties to it) declares that the* Roman People *are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders; that the honour of the Republick will be ſaved by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the Officers concerned in that Treaty to the* Samnites, *which he moves may be forthwith done. This propoſal is approved, and put in execution by a* Fecialis *appointed thereto; but* Pontius, *the* Samnite *General, reproaching the* Romans *with baſeneſs and breach of faith, refuſes to accept the priſoners in ſatisfaction of the Treaty.* §. III. Satricum *revolts from the* Romans; *and the* Samnites *ſurpriſe* Fregellæ, *a* Roman *Colony, and, after a promiſe of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive.* C. Mænius, *being appointed* Dictator *to take cogniſance of treaſonable practices, and alledging all canvaſſing for Offices to be Treaſon againſt the State, cites ſeveral* Patricians *to trial on accuſations of that ſort; but he is forced, by the clamour of the whole body of the Nobles, to deſiſt; and being himſelf accuſed of the ſame crime, abdicates his office, ſtands a trial, and is acquitted.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. Cornelius Lentulus *being created* Dictator, *leads an army againſt the* Samnites *incamped near* Caudium, *and gives them a great overthrow.* Papirius Curſor, *his General of the Horſe, takes from them* Luceria *(in* Apulia) *and reſcues the* 600 Roman *Knights, who had been given as Hoſtages upon the Treaty with* Pontius. §. II. Papirius *is choſen (a 3d time) and* Q. Aulius Cerretannus *(a 2d time) to the Conſulate. The latter takes* Ferentum, *the former recovers* Satricum *from the* Samnites. *The Character of* Papirius. §. III. *In the Conſulate of* L. Plautius *and* M. Foſlius, *a two years Truce is granted to ſome Cities of* Samnium. *The* Roman *arms proſper in* Apulia. Campania *is turned into a* Roman Præfecture. Two *new* Tribes *are formed, wh.ch make the whole number* 31. §. IV. *The next year* (Q. Æmilius *and* C. Junius *being* Conſuls) *all* Apulia *is ſubdued.* Antium *receives law from* Rome *for its future government. The ſucceeding* Conſuls, Sp. Nautius *and* M. Popilius, *name a* Dictator, *to begin the ſiege of* Saticula, *a* Campanian *City in alliance with the* Samnites; *and notwithſtanding that thoſe two great men,* Papirius Curſor *and* Publilius Philo, *are both choſen (the 4th time) to the Conſulate for the year following, the carrying on of that ſiege is committed to another* Dictator Q. Fabius, *the enemy and rival of* Papirius. Fabius *having taken* Saticula, *marches to beſiege* Sora *(in the country of the* Volſci) *which had gone over to the* Samnites. *By*

434.

435.

Two new Tribes.

436.

437.

438.

an artful ſtratagem he defeats the Samnites *in the field, but leaves the ſiege of* Sora *to be finiſhed by*
439. *the next year's* Conſuls, M. Pætilius *and* C. Sulpicius *(who is now choſen the 3d time.) Theſe Generals take* Sora *by means of a ſtratagem ſuggeſted to them by a deſerter from the place.* §. V. *The* Romans *ſurpriſe three Cities of the* Auſones *in one day.* Luceria *in* Apulia *rebels, and is again reduced. The* Samnites *are once more defeated in battle*
440. *by the* Romans. *The next year, when* L. Papirius Curſor *(a fifth time) and* C. Junius Brutus *(a 2d time) are* Conſuls, C. Pœtilius Libo *is named* Dictator *to carry on the war. He recovers ſe-*
441. *veral Cities from the* Samnites. *The year following, when* M. Valerius *and* P. Decius *are in the Conſulate, the* Romans *being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all* Hetruria, *appoint* C. Sulpicius Longus Dictator *to conduct it; but no hoſtilities enſue on either ſide.*

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *one of the* Cenſors *of* Rome, *diſpleaſes the* Senate, *by* admitting the Sons of Freed Men into that Body. *The* People *reform this abuſe the next year (when* C.
442. Junius *(the third time) and* Q. Æmilius *(the 2d time) are* Conſuls) *and make ſome new regulations.*
443. §. II. Æmilius *routs the* Hetrurians. §. III. *During the adminiſtration of* Q. Fabius *(a 2d time* Conſul) *and* C. Marcius, *the Cenſor* Appius *ob-*
Appius Claudius, Cenſor. *ſtinately refuſes to quit his office, though his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired,*

preſuming on the favour of the People, becauſe he had made an Aqueduct to bring water to Rome, *and a fine road between that City and* Capua. *He is proſecuted before the* People; *ſeven of the* Tribunes *are againſt him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point, and keeps his poſt.*

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The* Conſul Fabius *defeats the* Hetrurians *in battle near* Sutrium. *He penetrates into the* Ciminian *Foreſt, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a ſecond overthrow.* §. II. *The* Roman *army, under the* Conſul Marcius, *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *and the* Conſul *falling ſick, the* Senate *orders* Fabius *to name* Papirius Curſor *(the man he moſt hates) to be* Dictator *to carry on that war.* Fabius, *after ſome ſtruggle with himſelf, complies.* §. III. *He* 444
continues (with the title of Proconſul) *to conduct the war againſt the* Hetrurians, *and routs them once more, though the ſoldiers of their army had bound themſelves by oaths to conquer or die.* §. IV. *The* Dictator Papirius *is no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the* Samnites, *who, to raiſe the courage of their Troops, had given them finer arms than uſual. He returns to* Rome, *and, being now very old, retires for the reſt of his life from publick buſineſs.* §. V. Q. Fabius *(a 3d time) and* P. Decius Mus 445
(a 2d time) are choſen Conſuls. Fabius *conducts the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *aſſiſted by the* Marſi *and* Peligni. Decius *reduces the* He-

trurians *to ſue for an Alliance with* Rome, *but they obtain only a Truce for one year. He ſubdues all*
446. Umbria. §. VI. Appius Claudius, *the* Cenſor, *is choſen to the Conſulate with* L. Volumnius. Appius *ſtays at* Rome, *while* Fabius *(in quality of* Proconſul) *carries on the war proſperouſly in* Samnium, *and* Volumnius *leads an army with ſucceſs*
447. *againſt the* Salentines. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Marcius *and* P. Cornelius *the* HERNICI *rebel, and are ſubdued; and the* SAMNITES *are twice*
448. *defeated. The* Faſces *being transferred to* Poſthumius Megellus *and* Tib. Minucius, *the* Romans *gain two more victories over the* Samnites, *but* Mi-
449. nucius *is ſlain in the ſecond battle.* §. VII. *In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Sempronius Sophus *and* P. Sulpicius Saverrio, *the* Samnites *requeſt and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with* Rome. *The* ÆQUI, *who had lately rebell'd, are totally ſubdued.*

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The renowned* Q. FABIUS *being* CENSOR *this year, acquires the ſurname of* MAXIMUS, *for his reformation of an abuſe introduced by* APPIUS, *who had diſperſed great numbers of the Freed Men and meaneſt of the* People *into all the Ruſtick Tribes, thereby to influence the Elections according to his own humour. (One* Flavius, *who had been a Scribe, is by the ſtrength of this baſe faction raiſed to the* Curule Ædileſhip.) Fabius *reconfines thoſe mean fel-*
450. *lows to the four City Tribes.* §. II. *The next year (when* Cornelius Lentulus *and* L. Genucius *are* Con-

Conſuls) *is ſpent chiefly in ſending Colonies to the Conquer'd Cities. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Livius Denter *and* Æmilius Paulus, *the art of Painting is introduced at* Rome *by* C. Fabius, *ſurnamed* Pictor. Cleonymus, *ſon of* Cleomenes, *King of* Sparta, *brings a fleet upon the coaſt of* Italy, *and makes two deſcents there without ſucceſs.* §. III. *All the following year the Republick is govern'd by two* Dictators, *ſucceſſively created,* Q. Fabius *and* Valerius Corvus. *The former quells an inſurrection of the* Marſi; *the latter obtains a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *to whom afterwards a Truce is granted for two years.*

451. Fabius Pictor. 452.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of* Rome 453, *when* Valerius Corvus *is the fifth time* Conſul, *and has* Q. Apuleius Panſa *for his Collegue, a* Law *is paſſed at the motion of two* Tribunes, *of the name of* Ogulnius, *to qualify* Plebeians *for the* Pontificate *and* Augurate. §. II. *The* Lex Valeria *is confirmed anew.* §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus *declines the* Conſulſhip, *to which the* People *would again raiſe him, and at his own requeſt obtains the* Curule Ædileſhip, *in which office he gains new glory.*

453. Plebeian Pontifices and Augurs.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *break the Truce with* Rome, *in the Conſulate of* M. Fulvius Pætinus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum *obtains an alliance with the Republick. The* Conſul Manlius,

454.

us, *who was to act againſt the* Hetrurians, *being killed by a fall from his horſe,* Valerius Corvus *is by every voice in the* Comitia *declared* Conſul (the 6th time) *to ſucceed him. The very preſence of ſo renowned a warrior ſtrikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their Towns. (This was the laſt Military expedition of that great*
455. *man, who lived to an hundred years of age.* §. II. *In the cloſe of the following Conſulate of* Cn. Fulvius *and* L. Cornelius Scipio, *a report being ſpread, that both the* Hetrurians *and the* Samnites *(which laſt had broke their alliance with* Rome) *were making mighty preparations to attack*
456. *the Republick, the* Romans *caſt their eyes on the great* Fabius *to be one of their* Conſuls *for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to his inclination; but, at his requeſt, give him* P. Decius Mus *(who had been* Conſul *with him in the year* 445) *to be his Collegue. The* Hetrurians, *inſtead of taking the field, come to a reſolution to aſk peace; ſo that the* Conſuls *march their two armies into* Samnium, *and make terrible devaſtations in that country.*

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *who two years before had made a fruitleſs attempt to exclude the* Plebeians *from the* Conſulate, *endeavours now with the ſame view to get the* Conſular Faſces *for* Fabius *and himſelf.* Fabius *being preſident in the* Comitia,
457. *oppoſes his own re-election; whereupon* Volumnius Flam-

Flamma, *a* Plebeian, *is joined with* Appius *in the* Conſulſhip. Fabius *and* Decius *(in quality of* Proconſuls) *are continued in the command of their reſpective armies for ſix months longer.* Fabius *hinders the* Lucanians *from joining the* Samnites. Decius *gains great advantages over the latter, to compleat whoſe deſtruction* Volumnius *marches a new army into* Samnium. §. II. *But he ſoon after leaves that country to go to the aſſiſtance of his Collegue* Appius, *much embarraſſed with a war againſt the* Hetrurians, *ſtrengthened by a body of* Samnites *and another of* Gauls. Appius *pretends to be diſpleaſed with his arrival, upon which* Volumnius *offers to lead back his army into* Samnium: *But the troops of* Appius *oppoſe this motion. The united armies of the two* Conſuls *come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* §. III. *After this* Volumnius *returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the* Samnites, *who (after* Fabius *and* Decius, *whoſe Proconſulate was expired, were returned to* Rome) *had made an incurſion into* Campania.

Appius Claudius and Volumnius.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *The Republick being alarmed by accounts from* Appius, *of extraordinary preparations for war by the* Hetrurians *and their allies, (the* Umbrians, Gauls, *and* Samnites) *elect* Fabius (the 5th time) *to the Conſulate, and, at his requeſt, the* Comitia *grant him* Decius *again for a Collegue, tho' the firſt* Centuries *have already voted for* Volumnius. Volumnius *himſelf approves of the requeſt.* §. II. *A*

Fabius and Decius.

rivalſhip happens at this time between the Patrician *and* Plebeian *Ladies for the reputation of ſtrict*
458. *Chaſtity.* §. III. *When the time comes for the* Conſuls *to take the field, the* Senate *decree the conduct of the war againſt the* Hetrurians *to* Fabius. Decius *(to comply with the humour of his party, the* Plebeians*) refuſes to yield that command to his* Patrician *Collegue, unleſs it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the* Senate's *decree to the* People. *The* People *having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and conſider'd the preſent exigence, determine in favour of* Fabius *as the greater General.* §. IV. Fabius *in his way to the camp being informed that* Appius *has fortified it in ſuch an extraordinary manner as betrays fear, ſends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and after his arrival, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within Lines, he keeps them in conſtant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to* Rome, *but for what reaſon is uncertain. The* Senate, *that he may be able to contend with the enemy, judging it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army,* Fabius *deſires that his Collegue* Decius *may be the General to command it; which requeſt is granted. The* Conſuls, *having ſent* Volumnius *with an army into* Samnium, *and leaving two other armies incamped near the city, to cover it on the ſide of* Hetruria, *take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which incamp ſeparately: One conſiſts of* Samnites *(who had been driven out of their own country) and* Gauls; *the other of* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians. Fabius *ordering the two armies he had left near* Rome *to go and ravage*

a part

a part of Hetruria, *the* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians *march away to defend it, and in their abſence the* Conſuls *come to a battle with the united* Gauls *and* Samnites. *The left wing of the* Romans, *which* Decius *commands, being terrified and broken by the armed Chariots uſed by the* Gauls, *he, to recover the courage of his men,* devotes *himſelf to death in the ſame manner his father had done on the like occaſion.* Devotement of DECIUS. *After this* Fabius *obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *Before the end of the year the* Samnites *raiſe two new armies, which are routed by the forces of* Appius, *now* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Proconſul Volumnius. Rome *is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. L. Poſthumius *(the 2d time) and* M. Atilius Regulus *are choſen* Conſuls. 459. Poſthumius *falling ſick, the war is carried on againſt the* Samnites *by* Atilius *at the head of only one Conſular army. The* Samnites *have the advantage in this campaign, till* Poſthumius, *being recovered, brings a ſecond* Roman *army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While* Poſthumius *is employed in taking ſome of their Towns,* Atilius *marches to the relief of* Luceria *(in* Apulia*) beſieged (as he was told) by the* Samnites. *He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which is ſuch, that neither army cares to try a ſecond engagement. Their ſituation however forces them to it; and then* Atilius, *by ſingular bravery and ſkill, obtains the victory.*

ry. §. II. *In the mean time* Posthumius, without orders from the Senate, *leaves* Samnium, *and marches into* Hetruria, *where he reduces three of the* Lucumonies *to sue for peace. Nevertheless, the* Fathers, *at his return to* Rome, *refuse him a Triumph, because of his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the* People. §. III. *In the new Consulate of* L. Papirius Cursor *(son of the famous* Papirius) *and* Sp. Carvilius,
460. *the* Samnite *war is continued. The* Samnites *make* 16000 *of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army consists of* 36000. *While* Carvilius *lays siege to* Cominium, *in the eastern extremity of* Samnium, Papirius *leads his forces against the formidable army of the enemy, incamped near* Aquilonia *in* Hirpinia. *He gains the victory by the new stratagem of making the Muleteers and other servants of his army (whom he mounted upon Mules, and sent to some distance) appear in the heat of the action, like a new army come to his assistance.* §. IV. Carvilius *takes* Cominium; *after which the two* Consuls *join their forces to compleat the destruction of the* Samnites. *But the war breaking out afresh in* Hetruria, Carvilius *leads his army into that Country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the* Con-
Sun-dial. suls *have Triumphs. In this year a* Sun-dial *is the first time seen at* Rome. §. V. *A new regulation is made at* Rome, *relating to the* Guardianship of Orphans, *and another relating to the* Publick Games.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (*ſon of* Fabius Maximus) *is choſen to the Conſulate, though his father had oppoſed his promotion. The Collegue given him is* Junius Brutus Scæva. *Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army.* Junius *however being well aſſiſted by* Carvilius, *the late Conſul, makes a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the* Faliſci *in* Hetruria. *But* Gurges, *through his ill conduct, is ſhamefully vanquiſhed in a battle with the* Samnites. *The* People *of* Rome *having reſolved to puniſh him, old* Fabius *pacifies them, by offering to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the Campaign.* Gurges, *aſſiſted by his Father's counſel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and* Pontius, *the famous* Samnite *General, is taken priſoner.* 461.

§. II. *The* Romans, *to put a ſtop to the Plague, ſend Ambaſſadors to bring from* Epidaurus *the God* Æſculapius, *worſhipp'd there under the form of a ſerpent.* A Snake imported to ſtop the plague.

§. III. *The God arrives in the beginning of the next Conſulate of* L. Poſthumius *(now the third time choſen) and* Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Poſthumius *proudly aſſumes to himſelf the conduct of the war in* Samnium, *without drawing lots with his Collegue, or waiting for a decree of the* Senate *in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the* Senate, *obliges* Fabius Gurges, *now* Proconſul, *to deſiſt from the ſiege of* Cominium *(which had been retaken by the* Samnites) *and leave it to him. He takes that town and another.* 462.

463.

The Senate, *nevertheleſs, to puniſh his*

his diſobedience, mortify him in ſeveral inſtances; and in the ſucceeding Conſulate (of P. Cornelius Rufinus *and* Manius Curius Dentatus) *he is fined by the* People *for a miſdemeanour during his Magiſtracy.* §. IV. *The* Conſul Curius *(a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the* Samnites *to aſk* Peace, *which is now granted them the 4th time, on the conditions preſcribed by* Curius, *whom they in vain endeavour to bribe.* §. V. *He reduces* Sabinia *to a ſtate of ſubjection to the Republick, and has two Triumphs decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterwards accuſed of imbezzling ſome of the ſpoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted.* §. VI. *In quality of* Proconſul *he carries the war into* Lucania, *the*

Curius Dentatus.

464. *new* Conſuls, M. Valerius Corvinus *and* Q. Cœdicius Noctua, *ſpending their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending Colonies to the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the* Prætor *of* Rome, *three new judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous-paſſion, occaſions great commotions in* Rome *in the ſecond Conſulates of* Q. Mar-

465. cius Tremulus *and* P. Cornelius Arvina, *and a new* Seceſſion *of the* People *in the following year,*

466. *when* M. Claudius Marcellus *and* C. Nautius Rutilus *are* Conſuls. *The* Patricians, *to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make conceſſions.* Fabius Maximus, *in his old age, is made* Dictator, *to finiſh the accommodation; which done, he preſides in the* Comitia, *where* M. Valerius Potitus *and* C. Ælius Pœtus *are choſen* Conſuls. *He ſoon after*

after dies. The year of the new Conſuls *proves barren of great events.* 467.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. *Nothing memorable happens the next year, when* C. Claudius Canina *and* M. Æmilius Lepidus *are* Conſuls. 468.

But in the following Conſulate of C. Servilius Tucca *and* L. Cæcilius Metellus *the* Tarentines *endeavour privately to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt* Rome. *The* Gauls, *called* Senones, *murder ſome* Roman *Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to perſuade them to deſiſt from the ſiege of* Aretium *in* Hetruria; *and they ſoon after give the* Roman *army, under the conduct of* Cæcilius, *a terrible overthrow.* Curius Dentatus *revenges this defeat by leading an army into the country of the* Gauls, *and laying it waſte.* 469.

§. II. *The next year the* Romans, *under the* Conſuls P. Cornelius *and* Cn. Domitius, *vanquiſh in battle the* Senones, *the* Boii, *and the* Hetrurians. 470.

The Samnites *revolt. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus, *almoſt all* Italy *riſes in arms againſt the Republick.* Fabricius *defeats the confederate forces of the* Lucanians, Bruttians, *and* Samnites. 471.

The Romans *imagine that the God* Mars *had fought in perſon for them.*

§. III. *The* Tarentines, *who had not yet openly appear'd againſt* Rome, *fall in a hoſtile manner upon a* Roman *fleet, which chances to come into their port.* The Tarentines.

The Romans *ſend to demand ſatisfaction. The* Tarentines *inſult the Ambaſſadors in the moſt outrageous manner, and then turn their thoughts to ſeek*

ſeek an alliance with Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus, *and to invite him into* Italy. [*A ſhort account of this Prince, and the ſtate of his affairs at this time.*] §. IV. *The* Senate *of* Rome *having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the* Tarentines, *or to defer it, determine for the firſt, and*
472. *the* People *confirm their Decree.* L. Æmilius *(who, with* Q. Marcius, *is now in the Conſulate) marches an army directly for* Tarentum. *The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on his approach. They reſolve to invite* Pyrrhus *to their aſſiſtance.* Æmilius *endeavours to make them lay aſide this deſign, by generouſly releaſing ſome* Tarentine *priſoners he had taken.* §. V. Pyrrhus *accepts the invitation, and ſends before him to* Tarentum *the famous* Cyneas *with* 3000 *men, who take poſſeſſion of the Citadel.*

CHAP. XXVI.

473. §. I. P. Valerius Lævinus *and* Tib. Coruncanius *are choſen* Conſuls *at* Rome. Pyrrhus (whoſe Character is given) *being arrived at* Tarentum *(after eſcaping ſhipwreck by a ſtorm which diſperſed his Fleet) takes meaſures to turn the* Tarentines *from the purſuit of* Pleaſures, *to which they are intirely addicted; and he makes himſelf abſolute maſter in the place. In the mean time the* Romans *ſend* Fabricius *to viſit their Colonies and Allies, with whom they are fallen into ſome diſcredit, thro' the villainous behaviour of a Legion of* Campanian *Soldiers, which had been ſent by the Republick to garriſon* Rhegium *at the requeſt of the inhabitants*

King Pyrrhus arrives in Italy.

Garriſon of Rhegium.

and

and which had maſſacred the Citizens, and ſeized the City for themſelves. §. II. Pyrrhus *hearing at* Tarentum *that the* Conſul Lævinus *has march'd an army into* Lucania, *takes the field. He ſends a letter to the* Conſul, *incamp'd near* Heraclea, *requiring him to ſubmit the quarrel between* Rome *and* Tarentum *to his arbitration.* Lævinus, *in anſwer, returns a defiance.* Pyrrhus *takes a view of the* Roman *camp, and admires the order of it; and his confidence of ſucceſs in the war being thereby abated, he reſolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle; but the* Romans *force him to fight. He gains the victory by means of his Elephants.* §. III. *After this ſucceſs* Pyrrhus *forms Deſigns upon* Capua *and* Naples. *Diſappointed in theſe deſigns, he marches towards* Rome *with an intention to beſiege it. But hearing that the* Conſul Coruncanius, *who had* ſubdued all HETRURIA, *is coming with his victorious army againſt him, he marches back into* Campania, *where* Lævinus *having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The King declines it, and returns to* Tarentum. §. IV. *Hither* Fabricius *and two other* Senators *from* Rome *come to treat with him concerning the ranſom of Priſoners. He has ſome private converſation with* Fabricius. *The King reſolves to ſend* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of Peace, one of the conditions of which is to be a releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners without Ranſom.* Cyneas *comes to* Rome, *and employs all his arts to effect his deſires; but the* Senate, *moved chiefly by a ſpirited ſpeech of* Appius Claudius *the Civilian, (now blind) unanimouſly refuſe to enter into any treaty*

FABRICIUS.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS, THE BLIND.

treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in Italy. Cyneas *returns to* Tarentum, *full of admiration of the* Romans.

CHAP. XXVII.

474. §. I. *The next year the* Romans, *under the conduct of their new* Conſuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio *and* P. Decius Mus, *come to a ſecond battle with King* Pyrrhus, *near* Asculum *in* Apulia. *The circumſtances and event of this action are not well known.* Pyrrhus *retires to* Tarentum, *and the*
475. Conſuls *into winter-quarters.* §. II. *The year following, when* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus (both a 2d time) *are* Conſuls, *the* Carthaginians *ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the* Romans *againſt* Pyrrhus, *who, they fear, will invade their dominions in* Sicily, *if he ſhould conclude a Peace with the* Romans. *(He had been invited thither by the* Sicilians.) *The* Senate *refuſe the aſſiſtance offer'd, yet enter into a Treaty with* Carthage. §. III. *The* Romans *and* Epirots *having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in ſight of each other in the territory of* Tarentum, *the* Conſuls *ſend a letter to the King, giving him notice of the treachery of his Phyſician, who had offer'd to poiſon him for a reward.* Pyrrhus, *in return for their generoſity, releaſes the* Roman *Priſoners, and once more ſends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of peace, but to no effect.* §. IV. Pyrrhus *leaving a garriſon in* Tarentum, *paſſes with his army into* Sicily.

Pyrrhus goes into Sicily.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§ I. *The ſtate of* Sicily *at the time of* Pyrrhus's *arrival there. He makes rapid and extenſive conqueſts in the iſland.* §. II. *In the mean time the* 476.
Romans *chuſe* Cornelius Ruffinus *and* C. Junius Brutus *to the Conſulate. Theſe Generals lead their forces againſt the* Samnites, *advantageouſly poſted in their mountains, and ſuffer a ſhameful defeat. After this,* Ruffinus *by a ſtratagem takes* Croton *from the* Bruttians. Locris *ſubmits to the* Romans, *the inhabitants having juſt maſſacred the garriſon which* Pyrrhus *had left there.* §. III. *The*
Romans *(under their new* Conſuls Q. Fabius 477.
Gurges *and* C. Genucius) *continuing the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Bruttians, *theſe nations ſend to intreat* Pyrrhus *to return to their aſſiſtance. The King's affairs in* Sicily *being now in a bad way, he is glad of ſo honourable a pretext to leave the Iſland. His fleet, in its* Returns to Italy.
return to Italy, *is diſperſed and partly deſtroyed by the* Carthaginian *fleet. After his landing near* Rhegium, *he is attacked in his march to* Tarentum, *by a body of* Mamertines *(who had paſſed the Streights expreſsly) and ſuffers a conſiderable loſs. He lays waſte the territory of the* Locrenſes, *and plunders the Temple of* Proſerpine. § IV. 478.
Curius Dentatus *(a 2d time) and* L. Cornelius Lentulus *are raiſed to the Conſulate at* Rome. *The* People, *from ſome unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to liſt themſelves for the war,* Curius *confiſcates the goods of the firſt man who refu-*

ſes, and ſells the man himſelf for a ſlave, and by this example of ſeverity gets the better of the People's *obſtinacy. Two armies are raiſed. While* Lentulus *leads one into* Lucania, Curius *leads the other into* Samnium, *where he comes to a battle with the* Epirots *in the* Taurasian *fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp; and the* Romans *admiring the form of it, reſolve to make it the future model of their own.* §. V. Pyrrhus *leaving a ſtrong garriſon in* Tarentum, *embarks for* Epirus *under pretence of going to fetch recruits.*

Embarks for Epirus.

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. *The* Conſul Curius *has a pompous Triumph for his victory over King* Pyrrhus, *but he refuſes what other rewards the* Senate *offer him.* Ruffinus (*who has been* Conſul *and* Dictator) *is by the* Cenſors *ſtruck out of the liſt of* Senators *for having too much Silver Plate.* §. II. Curius *is continued for another year in the Conſulate, and has for his Colleague* Cornelius Merenda. 479. *The* Tarentines *beginning to deſpiſe* Pyrrhus, *force the garriſon he had left there to confine themſelves in the Citadel.* Curius *forces the* Samnites *and* Lucanians *to retire for refuge to their mountains.* 480. *But they appear again in the field the next year, when* C. Fabius Dorſo *and* C. Claudius Canina *are the* Roman Conſuls. Claudius *defeats them in a pitch'd battle.* §. III. Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſends an Embaſſy to* Rome, *to aſk an alliance with the Republick. The* Romans *ſend Ambaſſadors into* Egypt.

§. IV. *The new year's* Conſuls, L. Papirius Curſor *and* Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a 2d time) *have ſcarce enter'd* Samnium *with two armies, when a certain account comes that* Pyrrhus *is dead.* [*The manner of his death is related.*] *This news throws the* SAMNITES *into deſpair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby* totally ſubdued *by* Papirius, *after a war which had laſted* 72 *years. The* BRUTTIANS *and* LUCANIANS *ſubmit ſoon after; and* Papirius *by negotiation prevails with* Milo *and the* Tarentines *to put their City and Citadel into the hands of the* Romans; *after which the* Carthaginians, *whoſe fleet lay before* Tarentum, *and who ſeem to have had a deſign upon it, ſail away from the coaſt.* 481. Death of PYRRHUS. Samnites, Bruttians, &c. ſubjected to Rome.

§. V. *The Conſular* Faſces *are transferred to* Quinctius Claudius *and* L. Genucius; *and the* Romans *being now in a condition to puniſh the perfidious* Campanian Legion, *which had formerly ſeized* RHEGIUM, *beſiege it, carry the place, reſtore it to thoſe of the old inhabitants who had eſcaped the maſſacre, and put all who remain of the Legion to death.* 482. Rhegium taken.

§. VI. *The following Conſulate of* C. Genucius *and* Cn. Cornelius *produces nothing of moment; and the moſt memorable thing that happens under the adminiſtration of their ſucceſſors,* Q. Ogulnius *and* C. Fabius Pictor, *is the* Coining of Silver Money *at* Rome *for the firſt time.* 483. Silver Money coined, 484.

§ VII. *The next year, when* Appius Claudius (*ſon of* Appius the Blind) *and* P. Sempronius Sophus *are* Conſuls, Picenum *is totally ſubdued, and the* SABINES *are made intirely* Roman, *by being admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the* Roman Comitia. 485.

§. VIII. *The* Conſuls *of the*

486. *the following year,* L. Julius *and* M. Atilius Regulus, *commence a war with the* Salentines; *and this nation, together with the* Sarcinates *in* Umbria,
487. *being intirely ſubdued by the ſucceeding* Conſuls, Numerius Fabius *and* D. Junius Pera, Rome *becomes thereby miſtreſs of* all the Countries in ITALY *from the remoteſt part of* Hetruria *to the* Ionian Sea, *and from the* Tyrrhenian Sea *to the* Adriatick. § IX. *The Republick is now courted by foreign States. The Ambaſſadors from* Apollonia *in* Macedon *being inſulted by ſome of the Citizens of* Rome, *the offenders are deliver'd up to the* Apolloniates, *and a law is paſſed to make the like practice general in like caſes.*
488. *In the Conſulate of* Q. Fabius Gurges *and* L. Mamilius Vitulus, *the* Romans *regulate their* Finances, *and appoint four* Provincial Quæſtors *for the four Provinces into which they divide* Italy.

Provincial Quæſtors.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. XXXV.

§. I. *New diſſenſions ariſe in the Republick, on occaſion of a propoſal to add two* Quæſtors *to the two already eſtabliſhed. The* Tribunes *reſolve not to ſuffer an election of* Conſuls, *unleſs it be made a rule, that, of the four* Quæſtors, *two be always* Plebeian. *The two parties come at length to this compromiſe, that* Military Tribunes *ſhall be elected to the government, and that the People ſhall be free to chuſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *to the* Quæſtorſhip. *The People chuſe not only the* Military Tribunes *but the* Quæſtors *too out of the* Patricians *only.* §. II. *The* Tribunes *revive the old quarrel about the diſtribution of the conquered lands.* Appius's *advice to the* Senate, *to raiſe a diviſion among thoſe Magiſtrates, is followed with ſucceſs.* §. III. *The affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW *is revived.* Poſthumius, *one of the* Military Tribunes, *and General of the army, by his breach of word, and by ſome imprudent menaces, ſo provokes his ſoldiers, that they mutiny. At-*

tempting to puniſh the mutineers, he is ſlain by them. The Senate, *fearing leſt the People, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe* Plebeian Military Tribunes *for the next year* (340) *uſe all their endeavours to get the* Conſulſhip *reſtored; and they prevail. The faſces, after being ſeven years in the hands of* Military Tribunes, *are transferred to two* Conſuls, A. Cornelius Coſſus *and* L. Furius Medullinus, *who ſhew great moderation and prudence in the proſecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *In the year* 344, *the People chuſe three of the four* Quæſtors *out of the* Plebeians. *And the* Senate *is forced to conſent to an election of* Military Tribunes *for the next year. Three* Patricians *are choſen. Theſe being ordered by the* Senate *to name a* Dictator, *on occaſion of a war with the* Volſci, *two of them refuſe. The* Senate *hereupon has recourſe, as formerly, to the* Tribunes; *but theſe return a diſdainful anſwer, and will not meddle in the diſpute.* Servilius Ahala, *the third* Military Tribune, *names* P. Cornelius Dictator, *who quickly puts an end to the war.* Servilius's *two Collegues, in anger againſt the* Senate, *propoſe* Military Tribunes *at the next election: However* Patricians *are choſen, and ſo likewiſe the next year. The* Tribunes *of the Commons, provoked to the utmoſt, revenge themſelves, by oppoſing the levies for a war with the* Veientes, *who had inſulted the* Roman *Ambaſſadors; and they make the old affair of the* Agrarian Law *their pretence. The* Senate *get the better of this oppoſition, by decree-*

ing that the infantry *ſhall hereafter have* PAY *out of the publick treaſury, during the ſervice. The People joyfully confirmed this Decree, and readily offer themſelves to be inliſted.*

§. I. THE affection which four *Tribunes of the Commons* had ſhewed to a *Patrician*, and the compliance of *Hortenſius* with their deſires in his favour, ſeemed to promiſe a better underſtanding, and more union between the Senate and People, than there had been of late: But the very next year, in the Conſulate of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Fabius Vibulanus*, new diſſenſions aroſe with relation to the Quæſtorſhip. [The inſtitution of this office is aſcribed by *Plutarch* to *Poplicola*, who (according to the ſame Author) left the choice of the Quæſtors to the People. Their buſineſs was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of war, and keep exact accounts of their receipts and diſburſements of the publick money, of which they were the treaſurers, and for which they were accountable. And laſtly, the *Roman* eagles were depoſited with them, and they delivered them out, at the Conſuls command, when the *Romans* marched into the field.]

Year of ROME CCCLXXXII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred twenty.

Eighty-firſt Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 4. c. 43.

To this time, only two of theſe Officers had been annually choſen, who never ſtirred from *Rome*. The Conſuls propoſed that two others ſhould now be added, to attend the Generals in the field, take account of the ſpoils won from the enemy, ſell the booty, and above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The Senate warmly ſeconded this Propoſal, till the *Tribunes*

Year of ROME CCCXXXII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred twenty.

demanded, that ſome of the Quæſtors ſhould henceforward be *Plebeians.* (Hitherto the Quæſtors had been choſen out of the *Patricians* only.) Both Conſuls and Senate, at firſt, oppoſed this demand with all their might, afterwards they yielded thus far, That in the election of Quæſtors, as in that of Military Tribunes, the *Roman* People, if they thought fit, ſhould chuſe as many *Plebeians* as *Patricians.* But the Tribunes demanding that two of the Quæſtors ſhould always indiſpenſably be *Plebeians*, the Senate, rather than ſubmit to this, dropt the deſign of increaſing the number of thoſe officers. The Tribunes, in revenge, renewed the propoſal of the *diviſion of the lands*; nor would they ſuffer the preſent Conſuls to hold the Comitia for electing new ones, but inſiſted on having Military Tribunes for the next year. This Senate were now more than ever concerned to hinder this, leſt, if *Plebeians* were choſen to the Government, the *Agrarian Law* ſhould take place. The obſtinacy of the two parties in holding to their demands threw the Republick into a kind of anarchy: For the Tribunes ſometimes even oppoſed the Senate's meeting to name an *Inter-rex*; but they conſtantly hindered this Officer's holding any Aſſembly for the chuſing of Conſuls. At length *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, being *Inter-rex*, by expoſtulations and ſoft perſuaſions, brought each of the parties to yield ſomething of its pretenſions, in order to a reconcilement. The Senate agreed to let *Military Tribunes* be choſen inſtead of *Conſuls*; and the Tribunes of the Commons con-

Eighty-firſt Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME cccxxxiii, Bef. J. C. Four hundred nineteen.

conſented that in the election of the four Quæſtors, the People ſhould give their votes as they pleaſed, either to *Patricians* or *Plebeians*; and thus the diſpute ended.

Ninth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 4. c. 43.

The Aſſembly for the election of *Military Tribunes* was held firſt; and, notwithſtanding all the credit and intrigues of the Tribunes of the Commons, four *Patricians* were choſen, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Sp. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, (couſin to the Conſul of the ſame name:) *Sempronius* preſided in the election of Quæſtors [a]. *Antiſtius* and *Pompilius*, two Tribunes of the Commons, aſked the Quæſtorſhip, the firſt for his ſon, the ſecond for his brother; yet none but *Patricians* were promoted to that office; the People had not power to deny it to men whoſe fathers and anceſtors had been honoured with the Conſulſhip. The Tribunes of the Commons, enraged almoſt to madneſs at this preference, cried out, *What! Two Tribunes of the Commons, one recommending his ſon, the other his brother, and both diſregarded! There muſt infallibly have been ſome deceit in gathering the votes, and* A. Sempronius *ought to be called to account for it.* But as he was a man of known probity, and his innocence and the dignity with which he was then inveſted, ſet him above their

[a] By a letter from *Cicero* to *Curius* (Ep. 30. L. vii. ad Famil.) it appears, that, in their time, the *Quæſtors* were elected in *Comitia Tributa*. But I find no reaſon to believe, that, at this time, they were elected in thoſe aſſemblies, nor ſo long as the People choſe the Quæſtors out of the *Patricians* only.

Year of ROME cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred nineteen.

Ninth Mil. Trib.

reach, they turned all their fury againſt *C. Sempronius*, his relation, before ſpoken of, and revived the proſecution againſt him (for his ill conduct in the laſt battle), which *Hortenſius*, at the requeſt of *Tempanius*, had dropped. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-ſeven days. During this interval, *Sempronius* conſtantly attended the Senate, and being reſolved not to loſe his character there, by a timorous behaviour, zealouſly oppoſed the requeſt of the Tribunes, concerning the partition of the lands; and he behaved himſelf with the ſame ſteadineſs on his trial: But notwithſtanding all the ſollicitations of the Senate in his favour, he was fined 15,000 Aſſes [48 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.*]

Year of ROME cccxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Four hundred eighteen.

Tenth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 4. c 45.

§. II. IN the following Military Tribuneſhip of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the ſlaves, to ſet fire to the city, and ſeize the Capitol; but this ſecret was revealed by ſome of the conſpirators, and the miſchief prevented. Soon after, *Lavicum* *, a city included in the *Latine* confederacy, gave the *Romans* ſome reaſons to ſuſpect her fidelity. And the next year (in which the Republick was governed by three Military Tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*) produced the intire revolt of the *Lavicani*, who joined the *Æqui*, pillaged the territory of *Tuſculum*, and incamped with their new allies under the *Algidus*. It was ordered by the Senate that two of the Military Tribunes ſhould take the field, and the third continue to govern the city. Upon this a conteſt aroſe between the three, no one

* 15 miles from Rome.

Year of ROME cccxxxv. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſeventeen.

Eleventh Mil. Trib.

one of them being willing to ſtay at home. The Senate was offended at theſe diſputes; and *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, formerly Dictator, put an end to them by his paternal authority, commanding his ſon *C. Servilius*, one of the three Governors, to ſtay in *Rome*. But the two Generals agreed no better in the field than they had done in the city; each was for fighting the enemy his own way; they deſpiſed each other, and the troops were divided into two parties. When the news of this diſcord came to *Rome*, *Q. Servilius* apprehended the conſequences of it, and adviſed his ſon to raiſe more troops to be in readineſs at all events: And the advice proved ſerviceable. For, the two Generals having at length agreed to command the troops alternately each his day, *Sergius* ſoon after imprudently hazarded a battle, and by a ſtratagem of the enemy, who deſignedly gave ground to draw him into an ambuſh, was intirely defeated. He took refuge with his broken troops in *Tuſculum*. Upon this news the Senate ordered a Dictator to be created; and the younger *Servilius* nominated his father, who (as ſome ſay) appointed his ſon General of the Horſe. The father and ſon left *Rome* at the head of a new army (that which had fled to *Tuſculum* being recalled) and incamped within two miles of the enemy. The Dictator being there informed that they were grown negligent and preſumptuous, he marched with haſte to attack them, routed them, inveſted *Lavicum*, their place of retreat, and took it by aſſault. And all this being done

Year of ROME cccxxxv. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſeventeen.

Eleventh Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 4. c. 46.

c. 47.

Year of ROME cccxxxvi. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſixteen.

in eight days, he returned to *Rome*, and immediately laid down his office.

Twelfth Mil. Trib.

The ſucceeding Military Tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*, gained no other glory but that of preſerving the Republick in the ſame tranquillity in which they found it.

Year of ROME cccxxxvii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred fifteen.

But the next year (when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the Commonwealth) *Sp. Mæcilius*, a fourth time Tribune of the People, and *Metilius*, now Tribune a third time, renewed the propoſal of *an equal diſtribution of the lands*, conquered from the enemies of *Rome*. This tended to a confiſcation of the eſtates, poſſeſſed by a great part of the Nobility. The city of *Rome* had been built upon ground, originally belonging to the city of *Alba*, and had ſcarce any territory, but what had been ſince won, ſword in hand. Under pretence of buying or renting parcels of this acquiſition, thoſe of the *Patricians* whoſe ample ſhare in the Government furniſh'd them with opportunities, had poſſeſſed themſelves of large tracts, to which they could not produce any juſt title. The Tribunes were for reſuming theſe lands, and making a fair partition of them among all the Citizens, Nobles and Commons. To defeat this project the SENATORS had meetings publick and private. The youngeſt of them, *Appius Claudius* (grandſon of the Decemvir) is ſaid to have ſpoken to this effect; That it had been a conſtant tradition in his family, that relief againſt the Tyranny of the Tribunes was

Thirteenth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 4. c. 48.

to

to be found no where but in their own College. That the beſt way to fruſtrate the deſigns of *Mæcilius* and *Metilius* was to engage ſome one of their Collegues to oppoſe them: that it would be no difficult matter for the Nobles by condeſcenſions and careſſes to gain over thoſe who were but newly come into Office, made no figure, and were perhaps jealous of the authority aſſumed by the two leading Tribunes. And he exhorted the *Fathers* to try the experiment.

Year of ROME CCCXXXVII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred fifteen.

Thirteenth Mil. Trib.

This advice they unanimouſly approved, and *Appius* was highly praiſed for having thus ſhewn that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his anceſtors. The chief men of the Senate immediately applied themſelves to gain ſome of the Tribunes; and by intreaties and remonſtrances they ſucceeded ſo well, that of the ten they won over ſix to oppoſe the promulgation of the law. *Mæcilius* and his Collegue reproached them as traytors, enemies to the People, and ſlaves to the Senate: But it was all in vain, they were forced to deſiſt from their enterprize.

The Senate, by means of a good intelligence with the majority of the Tribunes, remained the directors of affairs the following year alſo. *L. Sextius*, one of the College, to make his court to the People, having propoſed to ſend a colony to *Volæ*, a little town which they had lately taken from the *Æqui*, the other Tribunes oppoſed it, and de-

Year of ROME CCCXXXVIII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred fourteen.

Fourteenth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 4. c. 49.

CORNELIUS COSSUS,
QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,
VALERIUS VOLUSUS,
FABIUS VIBULANUS.
} Y. of R. 338.

clared,

Year of ROME CCCXXXIX. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirteen.

clared, that during their Tribuneſhip, they would never ſuffer any new law to be offered, which had not been firſt approved by the Senate. But this influence of the *Conſcript Fathers* in the Tribunitian College did not laſt long: The affair of the *Agrarian Law* was revived the next year.

Fifteenth Mil. Trib.

§. III. THE *Æqui* having retaken *Vola*, *P. Poſthumius Regillenſis*, one of the Military Tribunes, a good ſoldier, but an imperious, obſtinate, wrong-headed man, was ſent with an army to recover it. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy in the field, he inveſted that place. Before he led his troops to the aſſault, he promiſed them for their encouragement, that if they took the town, they ſhould have the plunder. The place was won, but the General, who naturally hated the *Plebeians*, of whom the greateſt part of his army conſiſted, broke his word, and ſold all for the Publick treaſury.

Sextius, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, ſoon after brought on anew the affair of the *conquered lands*. *Poſthumius* was hereupon ſent for to *Rome* to aſſiſt his Collegues in oppoſing the Tribunes enterprize. Being come, he in full Aſſembly of the People dropt an expreſſion, that ſeemed to ſpeak him a fool or a madman. *Sextius* having propoſed to the Aſſembly to paſs a decree for dividing the city and territory of *Vola* among the ſoldiers who had made the conqueſt,

Q. Fabius,
Cn. Cornelius,
P. Posthumius,
L. Valerius. } Y. of R. 339.

affirm-

affirming that they had the beſt right to the benefit of it, *Poſthumius* haſtily cried out, *Woe be to my ſoldiers, if they ſtir.* So proud and unjuſt a ſaying offended the Senators no leſs than the multitude: *Sextius*, bold and eloquent, took advantage of the general diſcontent, and directing his ſpeech to the People: "Do you hear how *Poſthumius* threatens his ſoldiers, as if they were "ſo many ſlaves? And yet this brute of a man "you think more worthy of the *Military Tribune-ſhip*, than any of us, whoſe whole ſtudy is to "procure you lands, and houſes, and a com-"fortable retreat in your old age, and to defend "you upon all occaſions againſt ſuch proud and "cruel adverſaries. Can you then have any "reaſon to wonder, that of late ſo few of your "Tribunes ſhew much zeal for your intereſts? "What have we to expect from you? Honours? "You beſtow them upon your enemies. *Poſt-humius*'s words have indeed ſhock'd you, filled "you with horror. But what then? If you were "juſt now to go to an election, you would pre-"fer this cruel threatener to your beſt friends, "to thoſe who have nothing at heart but your "welfare."

Year of ROME cccxxxix, Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirteen.

Fifteenth Mil. Trib.

This Diſcourſe did not fail to inflame the People; and when the threats of *Poſthumius* were reported in the camp, they occaſioned ſuch a commotion and murmuring in the army, as came little ſhort of downright ſedition. *P. Seſtius*, one of the Quæſtors, having in the abſence of his General ordered a Lictor to ſeize a ſoldier who was more mutinous than the reſt, his fellow-ſoldiers reſcued

Livy, B. 4. c. 50.

Zonaras, B. 7.

Year of ROME cccxxxix. Bef. J. C. Four hundred thirteen.

reſcued him, and one of them gave the Quæſtor a ſevere blow with a ſtone. *Poſthumius*, informed of this tumult, haſtened to the camp, and exaſperated the troops more than ever by the ſtrictneſs of his inquiries, and the cruelty of his puniſhments. He commanded the moſt guilty of the mutineers to be put to death *under the hurdle*, a kind of execution which has been before mentioned. The manner of it was this. The criminal was laid at his length in a ſhallow water, under an hurdle, upon which they heaped ſtones, and ſo preſſed him down till he was drowned. But in vain did the General now paſs this ſentence againſt the ſeditious: the reſt of the ſoldiers tore them out of the hands of the executioners, and ſet them at liberty. *Poſthumius*, tranſported with rage, came down from his Tribunal, and, preceded by his Lictors, broke through the preſs, in order to lay hold on the criminals. He found no reſpect remaining, among the ſoldiers, either for his orders or his perſon; they oppoſed force with force, and being urged to fury, ſtoned him to death. This was the firſt inſtance, from the foundation of *Rome*, of a *Roman* General ſlain by his troops.

Fifteenth Mil. Trib.

Florus, B. 1.

Livy, B. 4. c. 50.

When the news of the tragical end of *Poſthumius* came to the city, his Collegues, who reſided there, zealous to revenge his death upon the rebellious ſoldiers, decreed, with the Senate's approbation, that informations ſhould be taken concerning it: The Tribunes of the Commons interpoſed. This conteſt depended upon another. The *Conſcript Fathers* thought it of the utmoſt

utmoſt importance to avoid an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, leſt the Commons, to ſkreen the guilty ſoldiers, ſhould chuſe Governors out of the *Plebeians.* They would therefore have made a Decree, that Conſuls ſhould be choſen in the next Comitia. The paſſing of this Decree was oppoſed by the Tribunes of the Commons, and the contention laſted ſo long, that the Republick fell into an *Interregnum.* In the end, the Senate carried their point. *Fabius Vibulanus*, being *Inter-rex*, aſſembled the Comitia by Centuries, and they choſe *M. Cornelius Coſſus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* Conſuls. Theſe were good-natured men, and for that reaſon, as it was thought proper not to be too rigorous in puniſhing the ſoldiers who had murdered their General, were unanimouſly appointed by the Senate and People to inquire into the crime. Neceſſary it was to make examples; but this was done with moderation; and thoſe few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the Lictors. The Conſuls thought it more adviſeable to ſuppoſe the army in general to be innocent, than to drive them into an open revolt by too ſtrict an examination.

Year of ROME CCCXL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred twelve.

Eighty-ſecond Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 4. c. 51.

It had been happy if the Senate and Conſuls had, to ſo prudent a management, added the partition of the Territory of *Volæ* among the People: They had indeed no plauſible pretence not to do it, there being as yet no private occupiers of it to be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions. And this would have been the moſt effectual way to ſilence the factious complaints of the Tribunes, and

Year of ROME CCCXL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred twelve.

Eighty-ſecond Conſulſhip.

and abate the ardour of the People for the diviſion of the publick lands conquered before. But the Commons now ſaw with indignation, that the ſecret deſign of the Senate and Nobility was to keep them always in poverty, as well for their own intereſt, as to make them more ſubmiſſive and dependent. Before it be long we ſhall ſee them proſecute their pretenſions with more fury than ever.

In the mean time the Conſul *Furius* marched againſt the *Volſci*, who had pillaged the territory of the *Hernici*. At his approach the enemy diſappeared; and he took from them *Ferentinum*, which he gave to the *Hernici*, with the lands about it, to compenſate their loſſes.

Year of ROME CCCXLI. Bef. J. C. Four hundred eleven.

Eighty-third Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 4. c. 52.

§. IV. THE Tribunes made no oppoſition to the election of Conſuls for the next year; and *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius* were choſen. But *L. Icilius*, a Tribune, began to reſume the affair of the conquered lands with immoderate heat. A plague that raged in the city put a ſtop to his career. This calamity was of courſe followed by a ſcarcity of proviſions: For, the citizens being alſo the huſbandmen, the lands were left untill'd while the diſtemper prevailed; and the loſs of one harveſt was ſufficient to reduce *Rome* to extreme want.

Y. of R. CCCXLII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ten.

Eighty-fourth Conſulſhip.

The famine was ſeverely felt in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*; however, care was taken to get corn from *Hetruria* and *Sicily*; and *Rome* by extraordinary good fortune continued this year without commotions at home or abroad.

No

Year of ROME CCCXLIII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred nine.

Eighty-fifth Conſulſhip. c. 53.

No ſooner did the plague and famine ceaſe, but the *Æqui* renewed their incurſions upon the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, faithful allies of *Rome*. *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius* were now Conſuls. It fell to the latter to conduct the war; but when he would have levied troops, the Tribune *Mænius* oppoſed it upon the old pretence of the *Agrarian Law*. In the mean time the *Æqui* inſulted the *Romans*, and took from them the fort of * *Carventum*. This diſgrace not only increaſed the hatred of the Nobles to *Mænius*, but induced the other nine Tribunes to aſſiſt the Conſul in making the levies and puniſhing thoſe perſons who refuſed to ſerve.

* In Latium.

The *Romans* recovered the fort, and found in it a conſiderable booty which the enemy had laid up there; but *Valerius* being diſſatisfy'd with his men on account of their backwardneſs to inliſt themſelves for the war, he ſold all, and put the money into the Quæſtor's hands.

It was the cuſtom in the triumphal proceſſion for the ſoldiers to chant ſatyrical verſes on the victor who enjoy'd that honour. In *Valerius's Ovation* they did ſomething particular, and by way of revenge they divided themſelves into two choirs, and while one made the air reſound with ſongs againſt their General, the other ſang verſes in praiſe of *Mænius*, and every time his name was repeated the People in the ſtreets clapped their hands and made acclamations and even drowned the noiſy muſick of the ſoldiers.

This behaviour of the citizens alarmed the Senate, and obliged them to beſtir themſelves,

to

Year of ROME CCCXLIV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred eight.

to hinder an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, leſt *Mænius* ſhould be choſen for one. The *Fathers* prevailed; Conſuls were elected; and the choice fell upon *Cn. Cornelius* and * *L. Furius.*

Eighty-ſixth Conſulſhip.

* A ſecond time. Livy, B. 4. c. 54.

Under their adminiſtration three Tribunes of the name of *Icilius*, all three kinſmen, and of a family in which to hate the *Patricians* was hereditary, undertook to deprive them of the Quæſtorſhip, which hitherto had never been out of their order, though *Plebeians* were qualified to ſtand for it. The *Icilii* talked much of glorious projects they had formed in favour of the Commons; but at the ſame time declared that they would not ſtir one ſtep towards the execution of them, unleſs the *Plebeians* would aſſume ſo much courage at leaſt as to raiſe ſome of their own body to the Quæſtorſhip. The multitude, poſſeſſed with hopes of the mighty advantages they were to reap from the zeal of their preſent Tribunes, gave their votes in the election of Quæſtors to *Q. Silius*, *P. Ælius*, and *P. Pupius*, all three *Plebeians*; and of the *Patricians* who put up for that dignity none but *Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus* could obtain it.

The Tribunes of the Commons, elated with this victory over the Nobility, flattered themſelves, that the Quæſtorſhip would now open them a way to the Military Tribuneſhip, the Conſulate, and the Triumph. They would not hear therefore of an election of Conſuls for the next year; they oppoſed the publication of a Decree of the Senate for that purpoſe; they cried

out,

out, that it was high time for the *Plebeians* to have their ſhare in the Government. The diſputes on this head grew warm, when, luckily for the *Icilii*, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were again in motion. The Tribunes oppoſed the levies, which, in purſuance of a *Senatus-conſultum*, the Conſuls would have made. Two of the *Icilii* conſtantly attended upon theſe Magiſtrates, each watching his man, to hinder him from raiſing troops, or holding the Comitia for chuſing new Conſuls. The buſineſs of the third *Icilius* was to manage the Multitude, and let them looſe, or reſtrain them, as he judged proper. Things were at this paſs, when news was brought that the *Æqui* had retaken the fortreſs of *Carventum*. This gave the Tribunes a farther advantage, the want of an army being now more preſſing. In ſhort, the Senate were forced to conſent to an election of Military Tribunes; but, to diſappoint the *Icilii*, they annexed this proviſo to their decree, *That none of the preſent* TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS *ſhould be choſen to the* MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP, *or continued in their Office the next year.*

Year of ROME CCCXLIV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred eight.

Eighty-ſixth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 4. c. 55.

The levies now went on without oppoſition. The Conſuls marched to recover *Carventum*, but they loſt a great deal of time before it, and were forced to raiſe the ſiege at laſt. They took however *Verrugo* from the *Volſci*.

Though the Commons had carried their point, of obtaining *Comitia* for electing *Military Tribunes* (inſtead of *Conſuls*) for the next year; yet the *Fathers* got the victory at the elections: three c. 56.

Year of ROME CCCXLV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſeven.

Sixteenth Mil. Trib.

Patricians were choſen and no *Plebeian.* It is ſaid that the Nobles made uſe of a ſtratagem (and were reproached with it at that time, by the *Icilii*) which was this: They engaged a great number of the meaneſt and moſt worthleſs of the *Plebeians* to ſtand candidates, mixing them with the worthy candidates of the ſame order. The People were ſo diſguſted with the appearance of the former, that they would not give their voices to the latter, nor to any but *Patricians.*

C. Julius Iulus, P. Corn. Coſſus, and *C. Servilius Abala* were declared Military Tribunes; but did not long continue in the ſupreme Command. The *Volſci* having ſet on foot a very formidable army, the Senate, according to cuſtom, reſolved to ſend a Dictator againſt them. As the abſolute authority of that Magiſtrate in a manner ſwallowed up the power of all the inferior Officers, *Julius* and *Cornelius* oppoſed his nomination, alledging that they did not want courage and experience to command an army, and that it was unjuſt to deprive them of a dignity which they had ſo lately obtained by all the votes of their fellow-citizens.

The Senate, exaſperated at their refuſal to name a Dictator, had recourſe to the *Tribunes of the Commons,* as they had done before upon the like occaſion. But the Tribunes of this year obſerved a different conduct from that of their predeceſſors. Overjoy'd to ſee this diſſenſion between the Military Tribunes and the Senate, they anſwered, with a ſcornful raillery, "That for their part they could

"give

" give no help in the affair; that they were only " *Plebeians*, not citizens, nor even to be reckoned in the number of men; that if ever the honours and dignities of the Republick were " made common to them with the *Patricians*, " they ſhould then take care that no proud Magiſtrate diſobeyed the decrees of the Senate; " but that in the mean time the *Patricians* " themſelves, as they had thrown off all reſpect " for Laws and Magiſtrates, might alſo, if they " pleaſed, aſſume the power and functions of " the *Tribunes*, and do their own buſineſs as they " could."

Year of ROME CCCXLV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſeven.

Sixteenth Mil. Trib.

The conteſts drawing to no end, and the enemy ſtill advancing towards the frontier, *Servilius Ahala*, the third Military Tribune, declared publickly, that the good of his country was more dear to him than the friendſhip of his Collegues; and that if they would not chuſe a Dictator, he would take upon him to name one himſelf: And accordingly being ſupported by the whole Senate, he named to that higheſt Magiſtracy *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who afterwards appointed *Servilius* to be General of the Horſe.

Livy, B. 4. c. 57.

The war was of no long continuance; the *Volſci* were defeated near the city of *Antium*, their territory plundered, and a great number of priſoners taken. After this expedition the Dictator laid down his authority, and the Military Tribunes reſumed theirs. *Julius* and *Cornelius Coſſus*, diſcontented with the Senate for having, by the creation of a Dictator, fruſtrated their hopes of acquiring glory, in this war, made no mention

Year of ROME CCCXLV. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſeven.

Sixteenth Mil. Trib.

of electing Conſuls for the enſuing year, but appointed an Aſſembly for chuſing Military Tribunes. The *Conſcript Fathers* were much alarmed to ſee their intereſt thus betray'd by men of their own order; and therefore, as they had, the laſt year, by ſetting up *unworthy* candidates from among the *Plebeians*, given the People a diſlike to all the *worthy*; ſo now they effected an excluſion of all *Plebeians* by ſetting up, for candidates, the moſt illuſtrious members of their own body, men whom they knew to be eſteemed by the Commons. *C. Valerius*, * *C. Servilius*, *L. Furius*, and † *Fabius Vibulanus*, all eminent *Patricians*, were choſen to the Military Tribuneſhip.

Year of ROME CCCXLVI. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ſix.

Seventeenth Mil. Trib.

The truce with the *Veientes* being at this time expired, the *Romans* ſent Heralds to them to renew their demand of ſatisfaction of damages formerly ſuſtained. Theſe Heralds meeting on the road ſome Envoys going from *Veii* to *Rome*, conſented, at their requeſt, to proceed no farther, till the latter had been heard by the Senate. The *Veientan* Miniſters obtained of the *Conſcript Fathers* to deſiſt from their demands, till ſome civil broils which were then at *Veii* ſhould be quieted; a conduct which *Livy* remarks as an inſtance of great generoſity in the *Roman* Senate, who, had they conſulted nothing but their own intereſt, could not have had a more favourable occaſion of falling upon a rival State.

* A ſecond time.

† A third time.

Livy, B. 4. c. 58.

The ſame year the *Volſci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans*, and put the garriſon to the ſword, the Senate being dilatory in ſending ſuccours to it. However the Military Tribunes revenged

this

this loſs; they ſurprized the *Volſcian* troops when ſcattered about the country to plunder, and cut them to pieces.

Year of ROME CCCXLVII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred five.

The Senate kept their aſcendant in the election of Magiſtrates for the next year, and procured the Military Tribuneſhip for *C. Cornelius*, ‡ *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, all *Patricians*, and of the beſt families in the Commonwealth.

Eighteenth Mil. Trib. ‡ A ſecond time.

During their adminiſtration, the *Veientes* having inſulted the ambaſſadors of the Republick, the Senate ordered a declaration of war againſt *Veii* to be immediately propoſed to the People. The *Roman* youth, upon the firſt rumour of this deſign, began to murmur at it: *The war with the* Volſci *is not yet ended; we have lately had two garriſons cut in pieces, and the places* [*though recovered*] *are not defended now, but with much danger. Not a year paſſes without a battle; and yet, as if we had not fighting enough, we muſt begin a new war againſt powerful neighbours that may engage all* Hetruria *in their cauſe.*

The Tribunes did not fail to encourage them in this oppoſition to the Government. "In "truth, *ſaid they*, the chief war you have to "ſuſtain is that which the Senate has ſo long "carried on againſt the Commons of *Rome*. "They ſend you into the field only to be ſlaugh-"tered, or elſe to keep you at a diſtance from "the City, leſt, if they allow'd you any re-"poſe, your minds ſhould run upon Liberty "and Colonies, or the publick Lands, or free-"dom in giving your votes in the Aſſemblies,

Year of ROME CCCXLVII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred five.

"and you ſhould concert meaſures for promo-
"ting your own intereſts, with reference to theſe
"matters."

Whenever the Tribunes met with any of the veteran ſoldiers, they took them by the hand, entered into familiar diſcourſe with them, inquired how many years they had ſerved, and, making them ſhew their ſcars, aſked them, whether they had room for any more wounds, or could ſpare any more blood for the ſervice of the Commonwealth. By theſe and other arts of management, in which the Tribunes were indefatigable, they made the Commons utterly averſe from a war with the *Veientes:* ſo that the *Patricians*, perceiving, that their Bill, if now offered, would be rejected, deferred it to another time.

Eighteenth Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 4. c. 59.

However it was agreed, that three of the Military Tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the *Volſci.* At the approach of it the enemy diſappeared, and left their country open to be pillaged. The *Roman* Generals hereupon divided their forces into three bodies, and made incurſions into it on different ſides. *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Anxur* (afterwards called *Terracina*) a wealthy city, and having taken it by aſſault, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of all the three armies, telling his own men, that the troops of his Collegues, by hindering ſuccours from coming to the relief of the place, had contributed to the taking of it as much as if they had been preſent in the action. This generoſity (not uſual of late) to the ſoldiers paved the way for a reconciliation between the Nobles and Commons.

And

And this was intirely accompliſhed by a Decree of the Senate, ſoon after paſſed, *That for the future the* Roman *infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the publick expence.* Hitherto all the citizens had uſed to go to war at their own charges; and oftentimes when the campaign was too long, the lands, eſpecially thoſe of the poorer *Plebeians*, lay fallow. This occaſioned borrowing, exorbitant uſury, complaints and ſeditions. The Senate, to prevent theſe diſorders, decreed of themſelves, and without being importuned by the People or their Tribunes, that for the future the ſoldiers ſhould have PAY out of the publick money; and that, to furniſh this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no Citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt.

Year of ROME CCCXLVII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred five.

Eighteenth Mil. Trib.

Upon the firſt news of this *Senatus-conſultum*, the People were tranſported with joy; they ran in crowds from all parts to the Senate-houſe, and, taking the Senators by the hand as they came out, ſaid, that now indeed it appeared, they were juſtly called *Fathers*; and declared themſelves ready to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood for their country, ſo tender and generous a mother to all her children.

Livy, B. 4. c. 60.

In this univerſal gladneſs, the Tribunes of the Commons were remarkable for their gloomy and envious countenances. Union always hindered them from making a figure in the State. They gave out that the Senate beſtowed largeſſes at a very cheap rate; that the People muſt be very blind if they did not perceive that this their pay would come out of their own pockets; nay, that

Year of ROME CCCXLVII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred five.

Eighteenth Mil. Trib.

it was not juſt to make thoſe Citizens who had always ſerved at their own charge, and had compleated the time of their ſervice, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers who ſucceeded them in the armies; and they proclaimed that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax. Theſe declarations made ſome impreſſion upon the People; the Senators, nevertheleſs, went on with their undertaking, and began the contribution themſelves, paying their own contingents fairly, according to the real value of their eſtates; and their example was followed by the chief men among the *Plebeians.*

As, in thoſe days, there was no ſilver money, carts loaded with weighty pieces of braſs were every day ſeen going to the Treaſury with the contributions of the rich: The poorer ſort, pleaſed with this ſight, and animated by the commendations given by the Nobles and the ſoldiers to thoſe of the Commons who ſubmitted to the impoſt, liſtened no longer to the declamations of their Tribunes, but ran every one eagerly to pay the Tribute according to his proportion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

§. I. *The* Romans *inveſt* Veii. *In the two firſt years of the ſiege (which laſted ten) there is little action. The third year,* (350 *of* Rome) *a loſs which the beſiegers ſuſtain before the place, animates the* Plebeians *with a zeal to puſh on the ſiege with vigour. The* Senate, *for the firſt time, allow* PAY TO THE HORSE. §. II. *The year following,* Sergius *and* Virginius *(two of the* Military Tribunes) *who have the conduct of the ſiege, quarrel, and divide the troops between them, which having miſchievous conſequences, they are both recalled. All the* Military Tribunes *of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are choſen.* Sergius *and* Virginius *(the Generals of the laſt year) are both fined for miſconduct.* §. III. *The* Tribunes *renew the domeſtick broils: But all is quieted by the chuſing of ſome* Plebeians *into the* Military Tribuneſhip. *At the next elections the Comitia chuſe five* Plebeians *to that dignity, and only one* Patrician. *There happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil, the ceremony of the* Lectiſternium *is obſerved.* §. IV. *The* Senate *take advantage of the People's fears and ſuperſtition, to get the* Military Tribuneſhip *for* Patricians *only; pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of* Plebeians *to that Magiſtracy. The lake of* Alba *overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, Deputies are ſent from* Rome *to conſult the Oracle of* Delphos.

Six

Six new Military Tribunes *are choſen, all* Patricians. *Some defect being diſcovered in their inauguration, they all abdicate, and ſix new ones are choſen, all* Plebeians. *Their adminiſtration not being proſperous,* Camillus *is named* Dictator. §. V. *He takes* Veii *by ſap.*

Year of ROME cccxlvii. Bef. J. C. Four hundred five.

Eighteenth Mil. Trib.

§. I. THE Senate's view, in allotting funds for the payment of the troops, was not only to eaſe the People, but alſo to enable the State to carry on the war farther, and maintain it longer. Before this regulation they could not ſo properly be ſaid to make war as incurſions, which were generally terminated by one battle. Theſe expeditions rarely laſted above twenty or thirty days, the ſoldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a longer time together. But now, when the Senate found themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleaſed, they began to form great deſigns; and, all oppoſition to a war with the *Veientes* being over, they reſolved to beſiege *Veii* itſelf, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Italy*, the bulwark of *Hetruria*, and which yielded to *Rome* neither in the courage nor in the wealth of its inhabitants.

The ſiege was begun in the year 348 of *Rome*, when the *Romans*, for the firſt time, choſe ſix *

* C. Julius Iulus, a ſecond time,
M. Æmilius Mamercinus,
T. Quinctius Capitolinus,
L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time,
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus,
A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

Mili-

Military Tribunes. The States of *Hetruria* held a general council, to debate whether they ſhould unite their forces in the defence of the *Veientes*, or not; but came to no agreement upon this head.

Year of ROME CC. XLVIII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred four.

The next year, when *Rome* was again governed by ſix † Military Tribunes, the ſiege was carried on with leſs vigour than in the beginning, part of the *Roman* forces being called away to a war with the *Volſci*.

Nineteenth Mil. Trib. Liv. B. 4. c. 61.

Year of ROME CCCXLIX. Bef. J. C. Four hundred three.

Livy tells us, that the year following the Republick choſe eight Military Tribunes; among whom he reckons *M. Furius Camillus* and *M. Poſthumius Albinus*; but in this he ſeems to have been miſtaken: For, beſide that the electing of eight was illegal, thoſe two Senators, according to the Capitoline Faſti, were Cenſors this year, and there were but ſix ‖ ſupreme Governors, of whom *Appius Claudius*, grandſon of the Decemvir, was one.

Twentieth Mil. Trib.

Year of ROME CCCL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred two.

Happily for the *Romans*, the *Veientes* at this time choſe themſelves a King; a proceeding which ſo diſpleaſed the other States of *Hetruria*, who not only abhorred all Royalty, but had a

Twenty-firſt Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 1. Sig. in Faſtos. Pighius in Annal.

† P. Cornelius Maluginensis,
Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a third time,
Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a ſecond time,
C. Valerius Potitus, a third time,
K. Fabius Ambustus,
M. Sergius Fidenas.

‖ M. Æmilius Mamercinus, a 2d time,
M. Furius Fusus,
Ap. Claudius Crassus,
L. Julius Iulus,
M. Quinctius Varus,
L. Valerius Potitus, a third time,

par-

Year of ROME CCCL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred two.

particular diſlike to this King, that they came to a reſolution to refuſe their aſſiſtance to the beſieged, ſo long as theſe ſhould continue under Regal Government.

Twenty-firſt Mil. Trib.

We may judge of the ſtrength of *Veii* by the length of the ſiege, which (with various fortune) laſted ten whole years; tho' perhaps this might be chiefly owing to the frequent changing of the Generals who commanded the *Roman* armies. Doubtleſs theſe changes hindered the *Romans* from making a ſwifter progreſs in conqueſt. Had they been conſtantly governed by ſome one of thoſe illuſtrious Dictators, who were their laſt refuge in caſes of extreme danger, they had ſoon been Maſters of *Italy*: But ſuch is the uſual conduct of a Republick, jealous of her liberty; ſhe checks the rapidity of her victorious Generals, leſt ſhe herſelf ſhould become a part of their conqueſts. It was at this ſiege that the *Romans* are thought to have firſt invented thoſe lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which have been ſince ſo much in uſe; at leaſt this is the firſt time they are mentioned in *Roman* antiquity.

Plut. Life of Camillus. Livy, B. 5. c. 2.

The Military Tribunes conſidering that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long ſiege, and then rather by famine than force, formed a deſign of keeping the army in the field all winter, and they began to erect wooden barracks for the men. The ſoldiers made no oppoſition to it, chuſing rather to live in the camp at the publick expence, than in *Rome* at their own: But the Tribunes of the Commons had no ſooner heard of this,

this, than they immediately made it a pretence to raiſe an outcry againſt the Senate. They ſaid in every Aſſembly, that indeed they always feared the gifts of the Senate concealed ſome fatal poiſon; that this new pay was only a bait which the *Patricians* had made uſe of to deceive the People: That it was in truth the price of their liberty: That the Military Tribunes, in detaining the ſoldiers in the camp during winter, had viſibly no other end, but to deprive the Commons of ſo many votes: That the Senate and *Patricians* would now reign deſpotically in all the Aſſemblies: But that they ought to be made ſenſible, that they governed men who were free; and that it was but fitting the poor Citizen, who daily expoſed his life in the defence of his country, ſhould at the end of every campaign enjoy a little reſt, and have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his houſe, his wife, and his children, and of giving his voice in the election of the Magiſtrates.

Year of ROME CCCL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred two. Twenty-firſt Mil. Trib.

Appius, whom the other *Military Tribunes* had left at *Rome* to oppoſe the Meaſures of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, being informed of theſe ſeditious ſpeeches, called an Aſſembly, and in a long harangue reproached thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, That they ſtudied nothing but to hinder all union between the two Orders in the State: That they ſought to create themſelves employment like knaviſh phyſicians: That their deſire was to have the State always diſeaſed, that they might ever be buſy in the cure: That they ſeemed determined to like nothing which the Senate did, let it be never ſo advantageous to the People:

Livy, B. 5. c. 3—6.

Year of ROME CCCL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred two.

Twenty-first Mil. Trib.

ple: That as Maſters did not ſuffer their ſlaves to have any intercourſe with the neighbours, leſt they ſhould be either well or ill uſed by them, ſo the Tribunes for the ſame reaſon could not endure that the Commons ſhould have any intercourſe with the Nobles, and were inraged to ſee that the Senate had ſhewn ſo much tenderneſs for the ſoldiers, as to allow them pay.

He added, "Either we ſhould not have undertaken this ſiege, or we ſhould continue it. "Shall we abandon our camp, the forts we have "erected, our towers, our mantelets, and our "gabions; and ſo have all the ſame works to "begin again the next ſummer? And who will "promiſe your Tribunes, who give you ſuch "wholeſome advice, that all *Hetruria* will not "be at length prevailed upon by the *Veientes* to "arm and come to their aſſiſtance, if we raiſe "the blockade, and give them opportunity to "renew their ſollicitations. They may perhaps "diſplace that Governor, who is ſo diſagreeable "to the *Hetrurian* States, or he may perhaps for "the ſake of his country reſign his authority. "The ſcene would be much changed, if thoſe "States ſhould all unite againſt us. Who can "aſſure you, that the *Veientes*, thus ſtrengthened, will not next year invade and pillage our "territory? And what a contempt will it bring "upon the Republick, if the nations bordering "upon *Rome*, and now jealous of her greatneſs, "ſhall find that your Generals, fettered by new "laws of your Tribunes, are unable to finiſh a "ſiege, or keep the field a moment after the fine

"wea-

" weather is over? Whereas, on the other hand, " nothing will make the *Roman* People more " formidable, than their ſhewing that no ſeve- " rity of the ſeaſons is able to put a ſtop to their " enterprizes; and that they are firmly reſolved " to conquer, or die at the foot of the enemies " ramparts."

Year of ROME CCCL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred two.

Twenty-firſt Mil. Trib.

APPIUS was already a match for the *Tribunes of the Commons*, even in their Aſſemblies, when a loſs, ſuſtained at the ſiege, gave him a complete victory over them, and produced a ſurpriſing concord between the two orders at *Rome*. The *Veientes*, in a ſally, ſurpriſed the beſiegers, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined moſt of their works. This news, inſtead of depreſſing the ſpirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new ardor for the continuation of the ſiege. The richer citizens, whoſe wealth qualified them to be in the firſt claſs among the *Roman* Knights, but who not having yet received horſes from the Republick, were therefore not legally and actually Knights, offered to mount themſelves at their own expence. Acceptance and a profuſion of thanks from the Senate rewarded this generous offer. And no ſooner did the report of it reach the Forum, but the Commons came in crowds to the Senate-houſe with a tender of their voluntary ſervices (in the infantry) to be employ'd before *Veii*, or wherever it ſhould be thought moſt proper; and they promiſed, in caſe they were led to *Veii*, never to leave the camp till the city was taken. The joy which had before filled the minds of the *Fathers*, was now

Livy, B. 5. c. 7.

Year of ROME CCCL. Bef. J. C. Four hundred two.

Twenty-firſt Mil. Trib.

made to overflow by this extraordinary and unexpected zeal of the Commons. Theſe voluntiers were not thanked and praiſed, as the cavalry had been, by ſome of the Magiſtrates commiſſioned to that office, nor were any of them called into the houſe to receive an anſwer: The Senators could not keep themſelves within doors; out they ran, and every one in particular, by his words and geſtures, expreſſed to the multitude (that were ſtanding below in the Comitium) the general gladneſs and exultation: *Happy, unconquerable, eternal would* Rome *be made by this concord!* They praiſed the Knights, they praiſed the Commons, they extolled even the day, *the Glorious Day!* they confeſſed the Senate to be out-done in kindneſs and benevolence. The Senators and the People ſeemed to vye with each other in weeping tears of joy; till at length the *Fathers* were called back into their houſe; and then they made a Decree, "That the Military Tribunes "ſhould, in *an Aſſembly of the People*, give the "due thanks to both cavalry and infantry, and "aſſure them that the Senate would be ever "mindful of the affection they ſhewed for their "country, and had come to a reſolution to al-"low pay to all the voluntiers." It was at this time, that the cavalry in general began to receive pay out of the publick Treaſury.

The new army of voluntiers were conducted to *Veii*, the works, that had been deſtroyed by the enemy, reſtored, new ones formed, and proviſions conveyed from *Rome* to the camp, with more care and diligence than ever; ſo that nothing

thing neceſſary might be wanting to ſoldiers who deſerved ſo well of the Republick.

Year of ROME CCCLI. B. f. J. C. Four hundred one.

§. II. THE *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, nations of *Hetruria*, neareſt to the *Veientes*, and conſequently moſt concerned in their preſervation, armed privately, and joining their troops, ſurpriſed and attacked the *Romans*. *L. Virginius* and *M.* * *Sergius*, both Military Tribunes, commanded at this ſiege. The jealouſy, ſo common between perſons in equal authority, had ſet them at variance: Each had a body of troops under his command, and had as it were a ſeparate camp. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* attacked that of *Sergius* on one ſide, at the ſame time that the beſieged made a ſally, and attacked it on the other. The *Roman* ſoldiers, thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, were diſmay'd, fought faintly, and rather to defend their own lives, than with hopes to vanquiſh the enemy. It was not long before they gave ground, fell into diſorder, and ran away. *Virginius* could have ſaved his Collegue's troops; his own were ranged in order of battle: But the animoſity between the two Generals was ſo great, that *Sergius* choſe rather to periſh, than to aſk the aſſiſtance of *Virginius*; and *Virginius*, on the other hand, would not give him any ſuccour, unleſs he would ſend and beg it. The enemy profited by this diviſion: *Sergius*'s

Twenty-ſecond Mil. Tr. b.

* A ſecond time. Livy, B. 5. c. 8.

* The other four were,
C. Servilius Ahala, a third time,
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus,
Q. Servilius Priſcus,
A. Manlius Vulſo, a ſecond time.

Year of ROME CCCLI. Bef. J. C. Four hundred one.

army fled in diſorder to *Rome*, which was but ſix leagues diſtant from the camp, and the General went thither himſelf, not ſo much to juſtify his own conduct, as to ſet forth the baſeneſs of that of his Collegue.

Twenty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

The Senate hereupon ſent orders to *Virginius* to leave his army under the command of his Lieutenants, and repair immediately to *Rome*, to anſwer to the complaints which *Sergius* preferred againſt him. The diſpute was managed with great acrimony, and the two Military Tribunes ran into invectives againſt each other before the Senate. Each had his friends there who took his part. The *Conſcript Fathers*, to quiet the matter, thought it adviſeable to make a decree, that all the Military Tribunes of that year ſhould reſign their Magiſtracies, and the People immediately proceed to a new election of Military Tribunes, who ſhould enter on their office on the *Calends of October*. The four who had been in no fault acquieſced; but the two, on whoſe account this decree was propoſed, begged of the Senate that they might not be diſgraced; and when they found that their intreaties were not regarded, they proteſted againſt the *Senatus-conſultum*, declaring that they would not reſign their authority before the *Ides of December*, the due time for its expiration.

Livy, B. 5. c. 9.

The Tribunes of the Commons, who much againſt their will had been for ſome time quiet, laid hold of this occaſion to break out, and make a figure. They threatened the two Generals to ſend them to priſon, if they did not obey the Senate's

nate's orders. *Servilius Ahala*, one of the Military Tribunes, full of indignation at the haughty manner in which theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates treated his Collegues: "As for your threats, I ſhould "not be diſpleaſed with an opportunity of ſhew- "ing, that you have as little courage to execute "them, as you have right to utter them. But "the decrees of the Senate ought to be obeyed; "and if my Collegues are refractory to its com- "mands, I ſhall name a Dictator, who will be "able, without your interpoſition, to force them "to quit their office."

Year of ROME CCCLI. Bef. J. C. Four hundred one. Twenty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

Virginius and *Sergius*, finding it fruitleſs to reſiſt any longer, abdicated their Magiſtracy, and the People proceeded to a new election.

L. * *Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M.* † *Æmilius*, *Cn.* § *Cornelius*, *Cæſo* ‖ *Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus*, were choſen Military Tribunes. And theſe new Governors had work enough upon their hands: They were to begin anew the ſiege of *Veii*, to keep the *Faliſci* and *Capenates* in awe, and to recover *Anxur*, which the *Volſci* had taken the laſt year. Beſides, the Tribunes of the Commons kindled freſh broils, when the armies came to be raiſed. They diſſuaded the old ſoldiers, who were to ſtay in the city to guard it, from paying taxes, pretending they were exempted from that burden by being inliſted. And the diſturbances, occaſioned by their ſeditious harangues, the levies, and collecting the tribute, were ſo great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new *Tribunes of the Commons*. Two were ſtill wanting. The *Patricians* at firſt

Year of ROME CCCLII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred. Twenty-third Mil. Trib.

* A fourth time.
† A third time.
§ A ſecond time.
‖ A ſecond time.
Liv. B. c. 11.

Year of ROME CCCLII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred.

endeavoured to get them ſupplied out of their body, but in vain. They then caball'd to ſtrike at the *Trebonian Law* ‡; and in the end prevailed to get two perſons added to the eight, by the appointment of the majority of thoſe eight. This was in effect to abrogate the *Trebonian Law*. It happened, that among the Tribunes of the Commons, there was one *C. Trebonius*, who thought it a duty owing to his name and family, to take that Law under his protection. He told the People that their intereſts were betray'd; and he brought an odium upon thoſe of his Collegues, who had ventured, of their own authority, to appoint two Tribunes. The People were eſpecially exaſperated againſt three of the eight, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *M. Minutius*: But theſe diverted the hatred of the publick from themſelves, by turning it againſt *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two Generals of the laſt year, whom they cited to appear in judgment before the People; and they forgot nothing upon this occaſion, that might inflame the minds of the multitude, not only againſt the two perſons accuſed, but againſt the whole body of the *Patricians*. They ſaid, "that though the two Generals laid the blame "of their ill ſucceſs on each other, *Virginius* re"proaching *Sergius* with cowardice, and *Sergius* "accuſing *Virginius* of treachery, it was not pro"bable, that either of them acted his ſhameful "part, but in concert with the Body of the *Pa*"*tricians*: For that the ſtudy of the *Patricians* "was to protract the war; to the end, that, the "ſoldiers being kept in the field, the Tribunes "might

Twenty-third Mil. Trib.

‡ Vid. ſupra, p. 38.

" might not have a ſufficient number of voters " in the city to ſupport their Bill concerning the " *conquered Lands*, or any other Bill that tended " to the advantage of the Commons."

Year of ROME CCCLII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred.

Twenty-third Mil. Trib.

They added, " That the accuſed had, in " effect, been already condemned by the Se- " nate, the *Roman* People, and even their own " Collegues. That the Senate, by a Decree, " removed them from the Government; and " when they refuſed to obey that Decree, their " Collegues conſtrained them to it by threaten- " ing to name a Dictator. That the *Roman* " People had created new Military Tribunes, " and had directed them to enter on their Ma- " giſtracy, not on the 13th of *December* (the " uſual time) but on the 1ſt of *October*, becauſe " the Republick could no longer ſubſiſt under " the adminiſtration of *Sergius* and *Virginius*. " And yet theſe men, ſo univerſally pre-con- " demned, had the folly to imagine, they were " ſufficiently puniſhed by being reduced to the " condition of private citizens, two months be- " fore the time; whereas the abridging the du- " ration of their Magiſtracy was only a de- " priving them of the power of doing more " miſchief, not an infliction of puniſhment; ſee- " ing their Collegues, who had certainly com- " mitted no fault, were removed from the ad- " miniſtration at the ſame time with them." In concluſion they admoniſhed the People, " To " recall thoſe diſpoſitions which they lately felt, " when they ſaw their routed, affrighted army " come flying to *Rome*, accuſing, not Fortune,

Year of ROME CCCLII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred.

Twenty-third Mil. Trib.

" nor the Gods, but only the two Generals.—
" There is not one among you, who did not,
" that day, deteſt and curſe *Virginius* and *Sergius*,
" and all that belong to them. Is it fit, that,
" after invoking the Gods to puniſh theſe cri-
" minals, you yourſelves, when you have them
" in your power, ſhould ſhew them any indul-
" gence? The Gods are never themſelves the
" executors of vengeance upon unjuſt men; it
" is ſufficient that they furniſh *the injured* with
" an opportunity of revenge." The People, irritated by theſe harangues, would give no ear to *Sergius*'s Plea of *the Chance of War*, nor to *Virginius*'s intreaty, *not to render him more unhappy at home, than he had been in the field.* They were each of them condemn'd in a fine of 10,000 aſſes of braſs.

This proſecution had the deſigned effect; the People were ſo intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian Law*, and their quarrel with the three Tribunes.

§. III. *ROME* at this time received good news from all parts where the war was carrying on: But this did not put a ſtop to domeſtick ſeditions. The *Tribunes of the Commons* preferred two laws, the firſt requiring a partition of the lands, the ſecond excuſing the People from any more contributions towards the ſoldiers pay: And in fact they would not ſuffer them to pay the taxes; ſo that the legions, being deprived of their ſubſiſtence, were ripe for a ſedition.

But all this buſtle ended in getting five *Plebeians* into the Military Tribuneſhip. *P. Licinius*

nius Calvus, *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, *L. Titinius*, and *L. Publilius*. *Sp. Furius* was the only *Patrician* elected at this time[a]. [*Livy* ſays, that *Licinius*, though a *Plebeian*, and never before in any publick office, was an old Senator.] The Tribunes of the Commons were ſo much rejoiced to ſee *Plebeians* in the ſupreme magiſtracy, that they ceaſed their oppoſition to the tax; the ſoldiers received their pay again, their courage was revived, they took *Anxur* from the *Volſci*, and carried on the ſiege of *Veii* with perſeverance; tho' they ſuffered much from the ſevere cold of the winter.

Year of ROME CCCLIII. Bef. J. C. Four hundred ninety-nine. Three

Twenty-fourth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 12.

At the next elections, the Centuries almoſt unanimouſly choſe five Military Tribunes out of the *Plebeians*, and only *M. Veturius* out of the *Patricians*. The five were *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. To haſten the reduction of *Veii*, the three armies of the laſt year joined their ſtrength; and they intirely defeated the forces of the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, who came to its relief. So complete a victory made the adminiſtration of the *Plebeian* Military Tribunes glorious in the eyes of the People; but it was not happy. The extreme cold of the weather changed on a ſudden to exceſſive

Year of ROME CCCLIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-eight.

Twenty-fifth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 13.

[a] *Livy* reports, that the *Military Tribunes*, now choſen, were all *Patricians*, except *Licinius*. But *Pighius* and others are perſuaded, that the Hiſtorian has here made a miſtake; all the names, except *Furius*, being names of *Plebeian* families; and three of them, *viz. Mælius*, *Mænius*, and *Titinius*, being the names of three *Plebeian* Military Tribunes, choſen about four years after this time, according to his own account.

Year of ROME CCCLIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-eight.

Twenty-fifth M. l. Trib.

ceſſive heat; and this occaſioned a mortality both among men and cattle. The *Sybilline* books being conſulted upon this occaſion, the Duumvirs pretended to find there a ſort of expiation never before uſed in *Rome:* It was called the *Lectiſternium.* They took down the Statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune*, from their nitches, and laid them on three beds placed about a table, on which magnificent repaſts were ſerved up to thoſe Deities for eight days together. Theſe publick ceremonies were imitated in private families. Every one kept open houſe for friends and ſtrangers, and converſed friendly even with adverſaries. All proceſſes, diſputes, and animoſities were ſuſpended; nay, the priſoners were releaſed from their chains, to partake of the publick rejoicings, and it was a point of Religion not to confine them again after the feſtival.

Livy, B. 5. c. 14.

§. IV. THE *Patricians*, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the People, gave out, that the mortality was owing to the wrath of the Gods, who, they ſaid, were diſpleaſed, becauſe in *Comitia*, held with the *ſacred Rite of obſerving the Birds*, honours were proſtituted, and no regard had to the diſtinction of families. By a religious ſcruple, thus raiſed in the minds of the Multitude, and by preſenting to them, at the next elections, candidates of the greateſt dignity and beſt families, the *Patricians* carried a point which they had much more at heart, than the buſineſs of the war; the recovering to their order the ſupreme magiſtracy which they had ſeemed in danger of loſing for ever.

L. Valerius *, *L. Furius* †, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius* §, *Q. Sulpicius* ‖, and the famous *Camillus* ‡ were choſen to be the ſix Governors of the Republick. This year the *Romans* had a prodigy to employ their attention. It happened to be a dry ſummer; but though there was little water in the rivers, ſprings or marſhes, the lake of *Alba*, that ſeldom roſe ſo high as to the foot of the rocks which quite ſurrounded it, ſwelled on a ſudden to ſuch a height as to reach the very tops of thoſe rocks. This ſtrange accident occaſioned much diſcourſe in the camp; and as in long ſieges the ſoldiers of the different parties ſometimes become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their ſeveral poſts. One day when they were ſcoffing at one another in relation to the ſiege, an old ſoldier of the *Veientes* cry'd out in an enthuſiaſtick manner, "*Veii* ſhall never be "taken, 'till all the water is run out of the lake of "*Alba*." A *Roman* Centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing what he ſaid, and, upon inquiry, underſtanding that he was a Diviner, contrived a ſtratagem whereby he made him priſoner, and then carried him before the *Roman* General, who ſent him to the Senate. The old man affirmed to the Fathers, that what he had declared was agreeable to an ancient tradition, written in ſome prophetick books in his country, and that, if the *Romans* could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: But he adviſed them to have eſpecial care, that the drains which ſhould be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the ſea. Though the Senate were

Year of ROME CCCLV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-ſeven.

Twenty-ſixth Mil. Trib. Plut. life of Cam. p. 130.

* A fifth time.

† A third time.

§ A ſecond time.

‖ A ſecond time.

‡ A ſecond time. Livy, B. 5. c. 15. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 6.

Year of ROME CCCLVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-six.

were not diſpoſed to an implicit faith in the diviner, yet they thought the matter of ſuch importance, as to ſend a deputation of three *Patricians* to *Delphos* to conſult the Oracle upon it.

Before the return of the Deputies, the People had choſen ſix new Military Tribunes, all *Patricians*. The *Romans*, during the ſiege of *Veii*, found themſelves obliged this year to make head not only againſt the *Volſci*, *Faliſci*, and *Capenates*, but againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, new enemies from *Hetruria*, who had committed hoſtilities in the *Roman* territory. *A Poſthumius* and *L. Julius* (two of the governors) who had ſtaid in *Rome*, requeſted leave to raiſe troops to diſperſe them, and when the Tribunes of the Commons obſtructed the levies, put themſelves at the head of a ſmall number of voluntiers, and fetching a great compaſs about, ſurprized the *Tarquinienſes*, as they were returning home, made a terrible ſlaughter of them, and recovered the booty they had ſeized.

Twenty-ſeventh Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 16.

In the mean time the three *Patricians* returned from *Delphos*; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the Senate and People, the anſwer of the *Pythoneſs* was perfectly conformable to the prediction and advice of the old diviner, whom, thereupon, they adviſed with concerning the neceſſary expiations

Plut. in Camillus, p. 137.

L. Julius Iulus, ſecond time,
L. Furius, fourth time,
L. Sergius,
A. Posthumius,
A. Manlius, third time,
P. Cornelius, ſecond time.

to render the Gods propitious. Then the *Romans* ſent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields, by trenches. [This fine work ſubſiſts to this day, and the water of the lake *Albano* which runs along *Caſtel Gandolpho*, paſſes through it.] But the oracle had likewiſe directed the *Romans* to re-eſtabliſh the neglected ceremonies of religion, and to begin thoſe again which had not been regularly performed. The firſt they interpreted of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, of late neglected; and they renewed the obſervation of them. And as to the ſecond it was diſcovered, that the election of the preſent Military Tribunes had been defective, with regard to the Auguries; whereupon they all abdicated, and after a ſhort *Inter-regnum* were ſucceeded by ſix new ones, all [a] *Plebeians*. Their adminiſtration was not proſperous. *Atinius* and *Genucius*, two of them, marched with ſome troops to oppoſe an inunda-

Year of ROME CCCLVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-ſix.

Twenty-ſeventh M. Trib.

Kircher, B. 3. Vet. Lat.

Livy, B. 5. c. 17, 18.

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

[a] *Livy* tells us, that old *Licinius Calvus*, the firſt Commoner ever raiſed to the Military Tribuneſhip, was now a ſecond time named to that dignity by the majority of the *Prerogative Tribe*, i. e. of the Tribe to whoſe lot it fell to vote firſt; but at his requeſt, pleading age and infirmities, the People choſe his ſon in his ſtead. From this paſſage in *Livy*, it appears that the order eſtabliſhed by *Servius Tullus*, in voting, had been changed; and that the Claſſes and Centuries were now blended with the Tribes. *See* p. 93, 94. 238.

P. Licinius,
L. Atinius, ſecond time,
P. Mælius, ſecond time,
L. Titinius, ſecond time,
P. Mænius, ſecond time,
C. Genucius, ſecond time.

tion

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

tion of *Hetrurians*, who, not by order, but by permiſſion of their Governors, were coming to attack the *Roman* intrenchments before *Veii*: The Tribunes fell into an ambuſh; *Genucius* was killed; and *Atinius*, though he rallied his men and retreated, durſt not any more face the enemy in open field. The news of this diſaſter ſo terrified the army before *Veii*, that it was with difficulty hindered from diſbanding. *Rome*, in a yet greater conſternation, had recourſe, as in the moſt preſſing and general calamities, to a Dictator; appointing *M. Furius Camillus* to that ſupreme dignity. This elevation he owed wholly to the publick danger and diſtreſs: A time when ſuperior merit, without canvaſſing or intriguing, naturally gets into its right place. The change of the commander made a ſudden change in every thing, — New hope — freſh courage — fortune ſeemed to turn at once in favour of the city [b]. *Camillus*, having named for General of the Horſe *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and having rigorouſly puniſhed thoſe cowards, who on the late alarm had fled from the camp, he rode thither with all expedition to revive the courage of the ſoldiers; which done, he returned to the city to raiſe a new army. The People ſtrove who ſhould firſt liſt themſelves under his banners; every body was for going to the wars with a General whom victory had never deſerted. Nay the allies, (the *Latines* and *Herniti*) of their own accord, ſent to

Livy, B. 5. c. 19.

[b] Omnia repentè mutaverat imperator mutatus, alia ſpes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque alia urbis videri. *Liv.* L. 5. c. 19.

offer

offer him a ſtrong ſupply of their ableſt youth. The Dictator marched from the city againſt the *Faliſci* and the *Capenates*, whom, in the territory of *Nepete*, he defeated in a pitched battle; and, after this victory, which left him the country open, he repaired to the camp before *Veii*, reſtored military diſcipline, which of late had been very much ſlackened, inveſted the place more ſtraitly, and ſtrengthened his lines by ſeveral additional forts.

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

As the beſieged defended themſelves with no leſs courage than before; and as *Camillus* perceived that he ſhould not be able to carry by aſſault or open force a town which had a whole army for its garriſon, he had recourſe to mines and ſapping. His pioneers whom he divided into ſix companies, relieved one another; ſo that the work being carried on without interruption, they, in a ſhort time, opened a paſſage under ground to the very citadel, the beſieged ſuſpecting nothing of the matter. The Dictator, then thinking himſelf ſure of conqueſt, ſent to the *Conſcript Fathers*, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. When the queſtion came to be debated in the Senate, old LICINIUS, whoſe opinion was the firſt aſked by his ſon (now Military Tribune) anſwered, that he thought, proclamation ſhould be made, *That whoever of the citizens was deſirous of ſharing in the plunder of* Veii, *might repair to the Dictator's camp.* APPIUS CLAUDIUS ſpoke warmly againſt this bounty, as an unprecedented prodigality, and inconſiſtent with equity and ſound policy. *That*

Livy, B. 5. c. 20.

if

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

if the Senate were abſolutely againſt bringing the whole produce of the ſpoil into the publick treaſury (though much exhauſted) yet, at leaſt the ſoldiers ought to be paid out of it, and the Commons be thereby, in ſome meaſure, eaſed of their burden of taxes; and that by this regulation every family in Rome *would have ſome advantage from the booty.* To this LICINIUS replied, *That the money, ſo reſerved, and appropriated, would be a ſource of endleſs diſcontent, occaſion impeachments, and ſeditions, and motions for new Laws. That it was better to conciliate to the Senate the good-will of the multitude, by a bounty, which would relieve their indigence (cauſed by the taxes they had paid for ten years together) and would make them taſte the ſweet fruits of perſevering in a war, in which they might almoſt be ſaid to have grown old. That what each man ſhould take with his own hand from the enemy, and bring home, would give him more pleaſure, than a gift of much greater value, from the Senate. That as it was only to avoid the bringing odium upon himſelf, the Dictator had referred the matter to the Senate, ſo the Senate, from a like regard to themſelves, ought to abandon the whole ſpoil to the people, and ſuffer every man quietly to enjoy what the fortune of the war ſhould give him.*

This advice being thought the ſafer, prevailed; a proclamation was iſſued conformable to it, and hereupon prodigious numbers of the citizens immediately flocked to the Dictator's camp.

Camillus, when he had taken the Auſpices, and ordered his troops to be ready for an aſſault upon the place, is ſaid to have made the following

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ing vow and prayer: O Pythian Apollo, *it is by thy inſpiration, and under thy guidance, that I am going to aſſault the city of* Veii! *and I do therefore vow to dedicate to thee the tenth part of the ſpoil which ſhall be taken in it. And,* O *Queen* Juno, *who now reſideſt in* Veii, *vouchſafe to follow us victorious to our city, which ſhall thenceforward be thy city, where thou ſhalt poſſeſs a temple worthy of thy greatneſs!* To engage the whole attention of the beſieged, ſo that they might as late as poſſible diſcover their danger from his mine, *Camillus* (whoſe army was now numerous enough for the purpoſe) cauſed an aſſault to be made on all ſides of the place at once. This drew the citizens from all quarters to the ramparts, wondering what ſhould be the cauſe of ſo ſudden and furious an attack from the *Romans*, who for ſome days had been quite ſtill. While the beſieged were in this amazement, the *Roman* ſoldiers, who filled the mine, riſing up in the middle of the temple of *Juno*, which ſtood in the citadel, ſallied forth, and ſpread themſelves in ſeveral bodies through the town. One fell upon the rear of thoſe who were defending the walls, another broke down the gates; and the whole *Roman* army ruſhed into the place, putting all to the ſword who did not ſurrender their arms. It is ſaid, that the Dictator, when he beheld the ſpoil, far exceeding his expectation both in quantity and value, lifted up his hands to heaven, and pray'd, *That, if his proſperity, and the proſperity of the* Roman *People, ſhould appear to Gods or Men exceſſive, the envy might be all ſpent upon him, ra-*

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 21, 22.

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Three hundred ninety-five.

ther than the publick ſhould feel even the ſmalleſt effects of it: and that after this prayer, as he was turning himſelf to the right he fell to the ground, an accident, ſays *Livy*, which, after the condemnation of *Camillus* and the deſtruction of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, was interpreted into an omen foreboding thoſe events [a]. The next day the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder; and the money ariſing from thence the Dictator tranſmitted into the publick treaſury, much to the diſſatisfaction of the ſoldiers; though this was the only part withheld from them of the produce of the ſpoil. Nor did they hold themſelves obliged to the Dictator for what they brought away with them, becauſe from a ſelfiſh motive he had referred a matter to the Senate which it was in his own power to determine; nor did they think themſelves obliged to the Senate, but to the two *Licinii* only, father and ſon, who had made themſelves the advocates of the People on this occaſion.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

When the conquerors had emptied *Veii* of all the riches that had belonged to *men*, they began to remove what belonged to the *Gods*, and to remove the Gods themſelves; but this more like worſhippers than plunderers. For they ſelected,

[a] According to *Plutarch*, *Camillus* pray'd, *that the publick might ſuffer nothing, and he himſelf very little*; and that he thought his prayer anſwered, by his falling down without hurting himſelf. Mr. *Dacier* is much diſpleaſed with this account, unworthy of the Hero. Both Mr. *Dacier* and *Gronovius* ſuppoſe that *Plutarch* did not underſtand *Livy*'s words: Ut eam invidiam lenire ſuo privato incommodo [potius] quam minimo publico populi Romani liceret.

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out of the whole army, ſome of the youngeſt men, to whom, when their bodies were waſhed perfectly clean, and cloathed in white, it was given in charge to tranſport Queen *Juno* to *Rome*.

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

They entered her temple with reverence, and, at firſt, but lightly touched her, to ſee how ſhe would take it: Becauſe, among the *Hetrurians*, it was not cuſtomary for any but a prieſt of a particular family to handle that image. As ſhe gave no ſign of anger, one of the lads, in a civil manner, then aſked her, *Are you willing to go to* Rome, JUNO?—*Yes, yes* (anſwered the reſt, all together) *ſhe is willing; ſhe gives a nod of aſſent*: And hence (ſays *Livy*) a fabulous report, that ſhe herſelf made the anſwer in words. *He adds*, Certain it is, that ſhe was eaſily moved from her place, and that they got her to *Rome* with as little trouble, as if ſhe had followed them thither on foot. They conveyed her ſafe and ſound to the *Aventine* hill, whither *Camillus* had invited her, and which was thenceforward to be the ſeat of her reſidence for ever; and there he dedicated a temple to her in diſcharge of a vow, which, to gain her favour, he had formerly made. Such, after a ten years ſiege, was the fate of *Veii*, the richeſt city of *Tuſcany*; it was at once deſpoiled of its riches, its inhabitants, and its gods.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

CHAP. XXXVII.

§. I. *The* People *are much diſpleaſed with* Camillus. §. II. *The next year (the Republick being under the Government of ſix* Military Tribunes, *all* Patricians) *a* Tribune of the Commons *propoſes, that half of the* Senators, *Knights, and People of* Rome *ſhould remove to* Veii, *and ſettle there. After much ſtruggle* Camillus *and the other* Senators *bring this project to nothing.* §. III. Camillus, *choſen one of the ſix* Military Tribunes *for the year following, has the conduct of the war againſt the* Faliſci. *He beſieges* Falerii *their capital city, and puniſhes a Schoolmaſter, who would have betray'd the place to him. The* Faliſci *ſubmit to the* Romans. §. IV. *The People, when the time comes for electing their* Tribunes, *chuſe to the ſame office thoſe of the old ones who had appeared for the propoſal of removing half the* People *to* Veii. *On the other hand, the* Patricians *get* Conſular *Government reſtored. The project of going to* Veii *is debated in an Aſſembly of the* People, *and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The* Senate *decree ſeven acres of the lands of* Veii *to every freeman of* Rome. §. V. *The* Volſinienſes, *a* People *of* Hetruria, *take arms againſt* Rome. *The* Conſuls *being ſeized with a contagious diſtemper, reſign the Faſces. An inter-regnum enſues. And then Six* Military Tribunes *are elected to the government.*

§. I.

§. I. THE length of the ſiege, the dangers attending it, the uncertainty of ſucceſs, the importance of the conqueſt, all theſe made the news of the taking of *Veii* be received at *Rome* with the utmoſt tranſport of joy: The temples were filled with *Roman* Ladies, and four days were ſet apart for a publick thankſgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practiſed in the Republick upon the greateſt ſucceſs. The very triumph of the Dictator had ſomething new and ſingular in it. *Camillus* appeared in a ſtately chariot drawn by four horſes all milk-white, and he had coloured his face with vermilion.

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth. Mil. Trib. Liv. B. 5. c. 23.

Plut. in Camillus, p. 132. Plin. B. 33.

White horſes, ſince the expulſion of the Kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and it was with vermilion the ſtatues of the Gods were commonly painted. In the midſt therefore of the praiſes which the People gave the Dictator, they could not without a ſecret indignation behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner put him upon a level with the Gods. Vanity ſo impious much diminiſhed the eſteem and affection of the multitude for him; and he had not long reſigned his Dictatorſhip, before he became perfectly odious to them. What partly occaſioned this, was the vow which, juſt before [a] the aſſault upon *Veii*, he made (as we have before obſerved) to conſecrate the tenth part of the booty to *Apollo*. Amid the hurry and confuſion of the plun-

Liv. B. 5. c. 23. Plut. in Camillus, p. 133.

[a] *Plutarch* ſays, that *Camillus* made this vow before he left *Rome* to go to the ſiege of *Veii*.

Year of ROME CCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-five.

dering he remembered not his vow: And when it returned to his mind, [a year after] there could no eaſy means be found to make the ſoldiers give back the tenth of what they had got. In this perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who were deſirous to have a clear conſcience, and ſecure proſperity to their families, ſhould honeſtly compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the Quæſtors, in order to make the God a preſent ſuitable to his majeſty, and proportioned to the benefits received from him.

Twenty-eighth Mil. Trib.

This contribution, exacted at a wrong time, alienated the hearts of the People from *Camillus*. His vow, they ſaid, was to give *Apollo* the tenth of the *enemy*'s ſpoils, but that he performed it by tithing the goods of his *fellow-citizens*.

Year of ROME CCCLVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-four.

§. II. THE centuries choſe ſix Military Tribunes, all *Patricians*, for the new year. In the beginning of their adminiſtration, the *Capenates* ſued for peace and obtained it. The war with the *Faliſci* went on. In the mean time, to quiet the diſcontented people at home, the Senate decreed, that a colony of 3000 *Romans* ſhould be ſent into the country of the *Volſci* (who had lately made ſubmiſſions) each man to have about three acres and a half of land: But when the time came

Twenty-ninth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 24.

P. Cornelius Coſſus,
P. Cornelius Scipio,
M. Valerius, ſecond time,
K. Fabius, third time,
L. Furius, fifth time,
Q. Servilius, ſecond time.

for

for enrolling the names of thoſe who were to form the colony, the *Plebeians* expreſſed a contempt of the Senate's bounty. *Why ſhould they be ſent into baniſhment among the* Volſci, *when the fair city of* Veii, *and its territory, more fertile and more ample than that of* Rome, *were before their eyes?* Nay SICINIUS, one of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, preferred a bill for removing one half of the Senate and People of *Rome* to *Veii*, (a city better ſituated and better built than *Rome*) yet ſo, that the two cities ſhould form but one Commonwealth. *He added*, That the *Romans* would, by this means, more eaſily preſerve their conqueſts. The chief nobles oppoſed his project with all their might; (and they had gained over to their ſide ſome of his Collegues.) They ſaid, they would ſooner die than ſuffer ſo miſchievous a bill to paſs into a Law: *A people ſo prone to civil diſſenſion, when dwelling together in* ONE *and the ſame city, — what will be their temper when living ſeparate in* TWO? *— Would any man in his wits prefer a conquered city to his own native city which had conquered it? — Would you have* Veii, *after its being ſubdued, exalted to be more conſiderable than it was before its reduction? — You may leave us here if you pleaſe; but nothing ſhall ever engage us to relinquiſh the place of our birth, and, in order to follow the new founder*, Sicinius, *to* Veii, *forſake our God* Romulus, *the ſon of a God, and the father and founder of* Rome.

Year of ROME CCCLVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-four.

Twenty-ninth Mil. Trib.

In the ſtruggle about this bill, nothing reſtrained the populace from blows and violence, but the deep-rooted reſpect which they had for

Year of ROME CCCLVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-four.

the principal Senators, who whenever a ſhout was raiſed for beginning a ſcuffle, preſented themſelves to their fury, bidding them *aſſault, ſtrike, kill.*

Thirtieth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 25.

CAMILLUS went about, loudly declaiming, *That it was no wonder the people were ſeized with a madneſs, ſeeing they had nothing ſo little at heart as the performance of vows to the Gods, after receiving the favours, to obtain which the vows had been made. He would ſay nothing of the* ALMS *given to* Apollo, *inſtead of the* TENTH *of the ſpoil: Each of the individuals had bound himſelf; ſo the ſtate was free. But he was obliged in conſcience to let them know one thing: That, though no mention had hitherto been made, but of the moveables, yet his vow to* Apollo *had comprehended the city of* Veii, *and all the territory belonging to it.* The Senate [pretending to be] perplexed with this new ſcruple, referred it to the Pontiffs; and theſe (in concert with *Camillus*) declared, *that a tenth of whatever he had belonged to the* Veientes *before the Dictator made his vow, and had, after his making the vow, fallen into the power of the* Romans, *ought to be ſacred to* Apollo. In conſequence of this judgment, the city of *Veii* and its territory were appraiſed, and a tenth of the value was given out of the publick treaſury to the Military Tribunes, to purchaſe gold with it, that a golden cup, or vaſe, large and maſſy, might be ſent as a preſent to *Apollo*. Gold being ſcarce, the ladies agreed among themſelves to lend their toys and ornaments to the State. Never were the *Fathers* better pleaſed with any thing, than with this complaiſance of the ſex; and, in return for it, a decree

cree was made, that they ſhould have the privilege of riding in covered chariots to the ſacrifices and publick games, and in open ones at all other times.

Year of ROME CCCLVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-four.

The buſineſs of the vow thus ſettled, the Tribunes of the Commons began to ſtir again, and the multitude to vent their anger againſt all the principal Senators, and eſpecially *Camillus*,—*That by their* Reſervations, *and their* Conſecrations, *they had reduced the ſpoil of* Veii *to nothing*. And finding that the affair of removing to *Veii* was not like to be determined this year, they choſe again, to the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip, the ſame men, who had preferred the Bill. On the other hand the Senate, by employing all their influence, got thoſe Tribunes rechoſen who had oppoſed the Bill; ſo that there was little change in the college.

Thirtieth Mil. Trib.

§. III. By a like exertion of their utmoſt ſtrength, in the Comitia held for electing Military Tribunes, the *Fathers* prevailed to have *Camillus* choſen to be one of the number. They pretended to want an able general for the war; but their real aim was to provide themſelves with a champion able to make head againſt the *Tribunes of the Commons*, reſolutely bent upon an *Agrarian* Law, and an equitable partition of the lands of *Veii*. The five Collegues given him were all *Patricians* [a]. Things remained quiet 'till *Camil-*

Livy, B. 5. c. 26.

[a] M. Furius Camillus, third time,
L. Furius, ſixth time,
C. Æmilius,

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Thirtieth Mil. Trib.

Camillus had taken the field; and even then the *Plebeian* Tribunes made little progreſs in their affairs; while he, their moſt formidable adverſary, acquired new glory by his conduct in the war againſt the *Faliſci*. The enemy for ſome time kept themſelves ſhut up in *Falerii*, 'till the devaſtations made by the *Romans*, in the territory about it, provoked them at length to come out: Their fear however hindered them from advancing farther than about a mile from the town, and they incamped in a place ſo ſtrong by nature, that they thought it needed no other fortifications. *Camillus* nevertheleſs attacked them there, defeated them, and took their camp. The whole ſpoil he put into the Quæſtors hands, much to the diſcontent of the ſoldiers; yet he kept them in awe by the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline; ſo that they hated him for the very virtue they admired in him. After this victory he inveſted *Falerii* and ſurrounded it with lines, but at ſo great a diſtance from the walls, that there was more than ſufficient room for the beſieged to come abroad and take the air without danger.

The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all ſorts of polite learning, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city, before the ſiege; and their fears of an

Sp. Posthumius,
P. Cornelius Scipio, ſecond time,
L. Valerius Poplicola.

enemy,

enemy, who kept quiet, and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue the practice. But the preſent ſchool-maſter proved a traitor. At firſt he led the youth only along the walls, then a little farther, and at length took his opportunity, and brought them through the *Roman* camp, quite to the General's tent; whom he accoſted with telling him, that by putting thoſe boys, the ſons of the principal citizens, into his hands, the city in effect was delivered up to him. *Camillus*, ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his Lictors to ſtrip the traitor, tie his hands behind him, and then furniſh the youth with rods, to whip him back again into the city. A little before, the *Faliſci* had proteſted they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than imitate the cowardice of the *Capenates*: But now they ardently deſired peace; ſo deep an impreſſion had the probity of *Camillus* made upon them. The Deputies whom they ſent to him on this buſineſs he ſuffered to proceed to *Rome*; where they addreſſed the Senate in the following manner. "You and your General have gained a "victory over us, which cannot be diſpleaſing to "Gods or Men. We ſubmit ourſelves to you, "out of a perſuaſion that we ſhall live more "happy under your laws than under our own. "The *Romans* and *Faliſci* are this day giving two "great examples to mankind; you, in preferring "an honourable action to victory; we, in rather "yielding to the power of virtue, than the force "of arms." *Camillus* demanded of the *Faliſci* a year's pay for his troops, and having on that con-

Year of ROME CCCLIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-three.

Thirtieth Mil. Trib. Plut. Life of Camillus, p. 133, 134. Liv. B. 5. c. 27.

Year of ROME CCCLIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-three.

condition granted them peace, led back his army to *Rome*.

The applauſes now given to *Camillus* by his fellow-citizens, were much ſincerer than thoſe he had formerly received, when the white horſes drew his triumphal chariot through the city. And the Senate, aſhamed perhaps of having delayed to diſcharge his vow to *Apollo*, deputed, at this time, three *Patricians*, *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, and *A. Manlius*, to convey the golden vaſe to *Delphos*. The long ſhip, on which theſe deputies embarked, was intercepted by ſome pirates from the iſle of *Liparæ*; and thither the captors carried their prize. But it luckily happened that *Timaſitheus*, this year chief magiſtrate of *Liparæ*, had as much religion as any *Roman*. For when he underſtood, that the treaſure which had fallen into the hands of his people, was an offering deſigned for *Apollo*, in diſcharge of a vow; and when he had farther learnt, that the three *Romans* were ambaſſadors; he not only entertained them hoſpitably, but in perſon, with a ſquadron of ſhips (the pious pirates conſenting to it) convoyed them to *Delphos*, and from thence (when they had made their offering) ſafe back to *Rome*: For which generous and religious proceeding, he received, in virtue of a decree of the Senate, rich preſents from the Publick; and they made a league of hoſpitality with him.

Thirtieth Mil. Trib.

War with the *Æqui* was carried on this year, under the conduct of *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, with ſuch various ſucceſs, that neither the citizens at *Rome*, nor the ſoldiers in the field, could, for

for ſome time, tell which ſide had the better. At firſt when the two Generals acted in conjunction, they gained a victory; but afterwards when, ſeparating, *Æmilius* thought fit to go to garriſon *Verrugo*, and *Poſthumius* to lay waſte the enemies borders, the troops of the latter, careleſsly ſecure, and marching in diſorder, were by the *Æqui* ſurpriſed, ſtruck with terror, and put to the rout. They fled to ſome neighbouring hills; and their fright communicated itſelf to the garriſon at *Verrugo*. *Poſthumius*, as ſoon as he had rallied his men, and poſted them ſo as to be out of danger, reproached them bitterly with their coward-like behaviour. They confeſſed their fault, begged with earneſtneſs to be inſtantly led to the attack of the enemy's camp (which was within ſight, in the plain below) and declared they would ſubmit to any puniſhments if they did not force it before night. The General commended their ardor, bid them refreſh themſelves, and be ready at the fourth watch. As the *Æqui*, to hinder the *Romans* from eſcaping to *Verrugo*, were guarding the road that led thither, the two armies met in that road. The battle began by moonlight, and the ſhouts of the combatants reaching *Verrugo*, the troops there, imagining that *Poſthumius*'s camp was aſſaulted, took a fright, and, notwithſtanding all that *Æmilius* could ſay, fled for refuge to *Tuſculum*. Thence flew a report to *Rome*, that *Poſthumius* was killed, and his army defeated: But a letter, crowned with laurel, arrived from that General to the Senate preſently after, with an account of his having obtained a compleat victory.

Year of ROME CCCLIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-three.

Thirtieth Mil. Trib.

Year of ROME CCCLX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-two.

§. IV. THE bill for removing the *Veii* being ſtill in ſuſpence, the *Commons*, when the time came for electing their Tribunes, were for continuing thoſe of the old ones who had propoſed the bill; and the *Patricians* endeavoured to get thoſe re-elected who had oppoſed it. The former prevailed in their own Comitia. The promoters of the law were re-choſen, and the oppoſers excluded: Upon which the *Fathers* in revenge made a decree that Conſuls ſhould be choſen for the next year: *L. Lucretius Flavus* and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus* were by the Centuries raiſed to that dignity.

Eighty ſeventh Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 5. c. 29.

Under the new adminiſtration, *Sicinius* renewed his intrigues with more zeal than ever, to get the Law paſſed for removing half of the People and of the Senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the laſt year's Tribunes of the Commons, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the law, were cited to appear before the tribes; and, notwithſtanding all the influence of the Senate in their favour, they were fined * 10,000 Aſſes of braſs: A ſentence which gave great offence to the *Fathers*. *Camillus* loudly inveighed againſt the Commons, *who*, he ſaid, *were ſo blind, as not to ſee, that by their iniquitous ſentence they had overturned the tribunician power; in as much as they had deprived their Tribunes of the privilege of* INTERCESSION. *But they deceived themſelves, if they imagined the Senate would endure an unbridled licentiouſneſs in any of thoſe magiſtrates. That if the violence of ſome of the Tribunes could not be repelled by the help of their Collegues, the* Fathers *would*

* 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. Arbuthnot. Livy, B. 5. c. 30.

would † *find another weapon!* He likewiſe reproved the Conſuls for *quietly ſuffering the two Tribunes to be oppreſſed, who had done nothing but by advice of the Senate, and had truſted to their promiſed protection.* And, as to the Law in queſtion, he never ceaſed exhorting the *Fathers* to oppoſe it with all their might; adviſing them *to go down into the Forum* (when the Tribes ſhould be aſſembled to determine the affair) as men prepared to fight in defence of their native land, the altars of their houſhold Gods, and the temples of the Gods of their Country. He added, "Were I at liberty to think of my own glory, when that of my country is in queſtion, what could flatter my ambition more, than to ſee a city, which I have conquered, inhabited by *Romans*, who would be ſo many living witneſſes of my victory, and where every object would be a monument of my glory? But I think it would be impious to re-people a city whoſe Gods have deſerted it, and ſhameful to prefer before your own country a country conquered by it."

Year of ROME CCCLX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-two.

Eighty-ſeventh Conſulſhip.

† Create a Dictator.

The Senators, old and young, moved by theſe exhortations, went all in a body to the Forum, when the Law was to be propoſed, and diſperſing themſelves into their reſpective Tribes, with tears in their eyes, conjured the People not to abandon "that city where they were born, and "in defence of which both they and their anceſtors had ſo bravely and ſo ſucceſsfully "fought." Then pointing to the Capitol, the Sanctuary of *Veſta*, and to the other Temples all around, "Can you conſent that the *Roman* Peo-

"ple

Year of ROME CCCLX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-two.

" ple ſhould be driven, like exiles, from their " guardian Gods, and their native country, to " inhabit a city not long ago peopled by their " enemies? Better had it been never to have " taken *Veii*, than that *Rome* ſhould be thus " deſerted." As the *Patricians*, abſtaining from all violence, employed prayers and intreaties only on this occaſion, and made frequent mention of the Gods, they, by raiſing a religious ſcruple in the minds of many, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one Tribe. And now the Senate were ſo pleaſed with this victory, that the next morning, at the requeſt of the Conſuls, they made a decree, whereby they aſſigned ſeven acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition, that the former might be enabled to educate their children, and the latter be induced to marry.

Eighty-ſeventh Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME CCCLXI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-one.

§. V. ON the other hand, the People, obliged by this liberality, made no oppoſition to the election of Conſuls for the next year. *L. Valerius Potitus* and *M. Manlius* (afterwards *Capitolinus*) were the perſons choſen; and they began their year by performing a vow made by *Camillus*, when Dictator, to celebrate the great Games. (Of theſe three were two ſorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other, called votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day appointed for them, and were celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only.)

Eighty-eighth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 5. c. 31. Faſt. Cap. Ciceronis, in Ver. 2.

The

Year of ROME CCCLXI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety-one.

The *Romans*, commanded by their two Conſuls, had this year a battle with the *Æqui*, whom they preſently routed. *Valerius*, becauſe he purſued the enemy farther, and killed more of them than *Manlius* did, was more honoured than he; *Manlius* had only an *Ovation*; *Valerius* a *Triumph*. In this ſame year, war was declared againſt the *Volſinienſes* and *Salpinates* (nations of *Hetruria*) who, joining their forces, had, without provocation, made an incurſion on the lands of the Republick. No army, however, could, for ſome time, be led againſt theſe new enemies, becauſe a famine and peſtilence, occaſioned by an exceſſive hot and dry ſeaſon, then raged in the *Roman* territory. *C. Julius*, one of the Cenſors, being carried off, *L. Cornelius* was ſubſtituted in his place, a thing afterwards deemed inauſpicious, becauſe *Rome* was taken in that Luſtrum: Nor after this time did the *Romans* ever ſubſtitute, in the place of a Cenſor who died in his office, another perſon to be collegue to the ſurvivor. The Conſuls too falling ſick, the Senate decreed that they ſhould abdicate; and an Interregnum enſue. *Camillus* was created Inter-rex, and ſucceeded by *Cornelius Scipio*, and he by *Valerius Potitus*. This laſt held an Aſſembly for the election of ſix Military Tribunes, that, in caſe ſome of the ſupreme Magiſtrates ſhould be ſeized with the diſtemper, there might yet be others in a condition to take care of the publick.

Eighty-eighth Conſulſhip.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

§. I. Camillus *is cited to appear in judgment before the People. To avoid a publick condemnation he goes into exile.* §. II. *Shortly after,* Cluſium *in* Hetruria *being beſieged by the* Gauls *under King* Brennus, *the inhabitants implore the aſſiſtance of the* Romans. *Three brothers of the* Fabian *family are ſent Ambaſſadors from* Rome *to mediate a peace. They raſhly tranſgreſs the law of nations.* Brennus, *in anger, raiſes the ſiege, and marches towards* Rome. §. III. *He gives the* Romans *a total overthrow on the banks of the* Allia. *The third day after the battle, he enters* Rome, *burns the City, and inveſts the Capitol.* §. IV. Camillus, *though at this time an exile, is, by a commiſſion from the* Senate, *in the Capitol, conſtituted* Dictator. §. V. *The* Gauls *attempt to ſcale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is diſcovered by the cackling of ſome geeſe. The aſſailants are repulſed, chiefly by the bravery of* M. Manlius. §. VI. *Both beſiegers and beſieged being diſtreſſed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The* Romans *are to purchaſe a peace with gold. While the gold is weighing,* Camillus *arrives: He forces the* Gauls *to raiſe the ſiege, and quit the Country.* §. VII. Rome *being deſtroyed, the* Tribunes *renew the propoſal of removing to* Veii. Camillus *(who is continued in the* Dictatorſhip *the whole year) oppoſes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the People to ſtay and rebuild*



A MAP OF GALLIA CISALPINA, LIGURIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. By G. Delisle *Chief Geographer to the French King, and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.*



rebuild the city. §. VIII. *Before the end of the next year (during which the Commonwealth is governed by six* Military Tribunes) *the* CITY *is intirely* REBUILT.

§. I. L. LUCRETIUS, *Serv. Sulpitius, M. Æmilius,* * *L. Furius, Agr. Furius,* and †*C. Æmilius,* the six new governors of the Republick, entered on their office the first of *July.* The war with the *Volsinienses* fell by lot to *Lucretius* and *Æmilius*; that with the *Salpinates* to *Agrippa Furius* and *Sulpitius.* A total defeat, suffered by the *Volsinienses,* taught them prudence, so that they begg'd a truce from the *Romans*; which was granted for twenty years upon conditions. As for the *Salpinates,* they were so terrified by the defeat of the *Volsinienses,* that they durst not appear in the field, but left their country open to be pillaged.

Year of ROME CCCLXII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety.

Thirty-first Mil. Trib.

* A seventh time.

† A second time.

Livy, B. 5. c. 32.

At this time, one *Cæditius,* a man of the lowest rank, pretended to have heard a miraculous voice, which pronounced distinctly these words, *Go to the Magistrates, and tell them, the* Gauls *draw near*[a]. The meanness of the man made the Military Tribunes despise the warning; and, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the *Gauls,* the *Romans* appear plainly, by their manner of treating the great *Camillus* (their only General capable of making head against such formidable neighbours) to have had no appre-

[a] *Camillus* afterwards erected a temple to the unknown Divinity who made this revelation; and the *Romans* coined for him the name of *Aius Locutius.*

Year of ROME CCCLXII Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety.

henſion of any danger from them. *Apuleius*, one of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, ſummoned him to appear before an *Aſſembly of the People*, and anſwer to the accuſation of having robbed the publick of ſome of the riches of *Veii*, of which charge certain braſs doors, ſeen in his houſe, were ſaid to be a proof.

Thirty-firſt Mil. Trib.

Plut. in Camillus, p. 134. Ib. p. 135. Livy, B. 5. c. 32.

Camillus was, at this time, in exceſſive affliction for the death of a ſon; and therefore, on receiving the ſummons, he ſent to the great men, formerly his Collegues in office, to his friends, his clients, and the chief men of his Tribe, to come to him at his houſe. His purpoſe was to ſound their thoughts and diſpoſitions. When the Aſſembly, which was very numerous, had conſidered of the matter, they anſwered, that they would willingly pay the fine in which he ſhould be condemned; but that it was not in their power to acquit him. Hereupon, he choſe rather to baniſh himſelf from *Rome*, than preſent to undergo the ſhame of a condemnation. 'Tis ſaid, that when he came to one of the gates of the city, he ſtopped, and turning towards the capitol, pray'd to the Gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly have cauſe to repent their having repay'd his ſervices with ſo ſharp an outrage. Having thus curſed his fellow-citizens, as *Achilles* did the *Greeks*, he retired to *Ardea*, a city not far from *Rome*, and, in his abſence, was fined fifteen thouſand *Aſſes* of braſs; [about forty-eight pounds of our money.]

The Deſtruction of *Rome*, by the *Gauls*, following ſo cloſely theſe tranſactions, it is no wonder,

that the multitude, always ſuperſtitious, aſcribed it to the anger of the Gods on account of the injuſtice done to *Camillus*.

Year of ROME CCCLXII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ninety.

§. II. HE was no ſooner gone, than Envoys arrived from the inhabitants of *Cluſium**, in *Hetruria*†, imploring the aſſiſtance of the Republick againſt an army of *Gauls*, which had made an irruption into *Italy*, and now beſieged their city. The occaſion of the ſiege was this:

Thirty-firſt Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 33.

* Chiuſi.

†Tuſcany. Plut. vita Camilli, p. 135, 136.

ARUNS, a native of *Cluſium*, a man well born, was guardian to an orphan, named (or, perhaps, ſtiled) LUCUMO, the richeſt and the handſomeſt youth in the place. The ward, who had been brought up, from his infancy, in the houſe of ARUNS, could not find in his heart to leave it, even when arrived at that age which puts a young man under his own direction: He had ſuch an eſteem and affection for his guardian, that there was no poſſibility of living without his Company. It appeared, however, after ſome time, that the chains which held our pupil ſo faſt bound in the place of his education, were not the virtues of ARUNS, but the charms of his wife. The paſſion being mutual, and growing too violent to be either conquered or concealed, LUCUMO carried off the Lady, avowed the action, and kept her publickly. To obtain reparation of honour, by courſe of Law, was attempted in vain: Large bribes and the numerous adherents to the ample fortune of LUCUMO enabled him to triumph over the complaints of an injured huſband, not ſo rich as he. ARUNS, deſpairing of juſtice, applied his thoughts to revenge. The State was now be-

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come guilty of the cruel injury and affront which he had received from his ward. Againſt *Cluſium* therefore he aimed the meditated miſchief, forming a deſign to reduce the city under the domination of an army of foreign freebooters. He knew, that, from ſeveral Cantons of *Gaul* [a], multitudes of

[a] *Gaul* was anciently divided into three parts. The firſt, which reached from the *Britiſh* ſea to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) *Gallia Belgica*. The ſecond, which comprehended all the country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne* quite to the *Alps*, they named *Gallia Celtica*. The third, containing all that tract of ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the weſtern ocean, was called *Gallia Aquitanica*.

The only *Gauls* who at ſeveral times croſſed the *Alps* and ſettled in *Italy*, were the *Celtæ*, or the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. About the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, *Ambigatus*, King of the *Celtæ*, finding his dominions over-ſtock'd with ungovernable ſubjects, ſent away vaſt numbers of them to ſeek their fortune under the command of his two nephews, *Segoveſus* and *Belloveſus*. The former took his way through the *Hercinian Foreſt* (of which the preſent *Black Foreſt* was but a ſmall part) and ſettled in a canton of *Germany*, ever ſince called *Bohemia*, or *Boiemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greateſt part of his followers being of that *Celtic* nation, which was ſo named. But theſe being afterwards driven thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iſer*, and which from them took the name of *Boiaria* or *Bavaria*.

Belloveſus was followed by great numbers of almoſt all the other *Celtic* nations, as well as of the *Boii*. He croſſed the *Rhone*, ſpread his army over *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and at length entered *Italy*, between the mountains *Genevre* and *Cenis*. At this time the *Hetrurians* or *Tyrrhenians* poſſeſs'd the better part of it. *Belloveſus* having defeated them in a battle on the banks of the *Ticin*, drove them before him, and took poſſeſſion

of men had been formerly drawn into *Italy* by the allurement of its delicious wines: And it is ſaid,

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poſſeſſion of their lands, each of the nations which followed him having its diſtinct portion of the conquered countries. The *Taurini*, or the inhabitants of the mountains on the ſide of *Gaul*, had *Piedmont*, the capital of which is *Turin*. Thoſe inhabitants of *Provence*, who were called *Salyes*, had *Liguria*. The *Libici*, another people of *Provence*, were placed on the north ſide of the *Po*, where *Verceil* now is. The *Inſubres* or *Burgundians* ſettled in the fine country of the *Milaneſe*, and there built a town, which they called *Mediolanum (Milan)* from the name of a little city in the territory of the *Autunois*, in *Burgundy*. The *Orobii*, who had dwelt on the banks of the river *Orobis* in the country now called *Languedoc*, ſettled in the territory of *Bergamo*, and built both the city of that name, and *Como*, but retained their old appellation of *Orobii*. *Belloveſus* ſeems not to have carried his conqueſts farther than this, nor to have brought into *Italy* all the nations which had engaged to follow him.

A ſecond irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cænomani*, (or thoſe people of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine* and the *Loire*) under the conduct of one *Elitouis*. He was probably followed likewiſe by the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, and the *Carnutes*. Theſe new adventurers are ſaid to have been tempted to croſs the *Alps* by the wine which *Belloveſus* ſent them. The *Gauls* were at this time almoſt perfect ſtrangers to wine; nay, ſo late as the time of *Julian the Apoſtate*, there was none made in *France*, at leaſt in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. The *Cænomani* ſettled themſelves north-eaſt of the *Inſubres*, and poſſeſs'd the preſent *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, and *Mantua*, on the north ſide of the *Po*. The *Veneti*, or the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, ſettled more eaſtward, on the borders of the *Adriatick* gulph, and the country ſtill retains the name of *Venetia*, which it received from them. As for the *Carnutes*, they went farther north, and took poſſeſſion of the territory called from them *Carniola*.

It is uncertain from what part of *Gaul* the *Læves* (or *Lævi*) and the *Ananes* (or *Anamares*) came, who made the third

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ſaid, that the SENONES (who poſſeſſed that part of *Gaul*, which lies to the South-East of *Paris*, and whoſe capital city was *Sens*) being hitherto unacquainted with that ſort of liquor, he therefore choſe to addreſs himſelf to them, in the hope of gaining them to his purpoſe, by the means of ſome excellent wine, which he carried with him. It prevailed againſt all objections. [*O ye men, how exceeding ſtrong is wine!*] A numerous army of theſe *Gauls*, guided by the *Hetrurian* fugitive, paſſed the *Alps*, and, without diſturbing the *Celtæ*, in *Italy*, fell down upon *Umbria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country, from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, comprehending the preſent Dutchy of *Urbino*. They are ſuppoſed to have been there about ſix years, when (in the year of *Rome* 362) to

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irruption into *Italy*; but the hiſtorians agree, that the *Lævi* ſeized the country of *Novara*, on the north ſide the *Po*; and that the *Anares* ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Placenza*, on the ſouth ſide of that river.

The fourth migration of *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* paſſed the *Alpes Penninæ*, or mount St *Godard*, and ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

The *Hetrurians* being driven out of their old habitations by theſe inundations of ſtrangers, paſſed the *Apennines*, and retired into that country, which has been ever ſince called *Hetruria*, or *Tuſcany*. It was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and reached from the *Arno* to the *Tiber*; being bounded to the north, by the *Apennines*; and to the ſouth, by the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. And we are not told, that the *Hetrurians* were any more diſturbed by the *Celtæ*, from the year of *Rome* 156 to the year 356.

It was 300 years after the invaſion by *Bellovesus*, that the *Senones* made the fifth irruption into *Italy*. C. & R.

reward

reward their guide, by revenging his quarrel, they undertook the ſiege of *Cluſium.*

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The *Cluſians* had no alliance with *Rome*, nor any claim to her friendſhip, unleſs it were by their not having armed in defence of their countrymen, the *Veientes*, when the *Romans* beſieged *Veii*: Nevertheleſs they ſent ambaſſadors to crave the aid of the Republick. Succours the Senate did not grant; but commiſſioned three *Patricians*, the ſons of *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, to go to the camp of the *Gauls*, and, in the name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, admoniſh them *to forbear hoſtilities againſt the* CLUSIANS, *from whom they had received* NO INJURY. The three brothers having delivered their errand, in a council expreſsly ſummoned to give them audience, BRENNUS, the King (or chief commander) anſwered, laughing, *No injury? Yes indeed, the* Cluſians *have done us a great deal of wrong: For they have more land than they are able to cultivate, and yet have refuſed to give a part of it to us, who are ſtrangers, and numerous, and very poor. They do us the ſame wrong that every powerful nation receives from its weaker neighbour, whom it has not yet ſubdued. The moſt ancient of all Laws ordains, that the weak ſhould yield to the ſtrong, and the brave be Lords of the world* [a].

Thirty-firſt Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 35—55. Plut. in Camillus, p. 136—145.

[a] *Plutarch* makes *Brennus* ſpeak, as if he were acquainted with all the petty wars, which *Rome* had made upon her neighbours, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, the *Ardeates*, the *Volſci*, &c. But *Livy* repreſents the *Gauls* (in their anſwer to the Ambaſſadors) as ſtrangers to the *Roman* name. Etſi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, &c. B. 5. c. 36.

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This haughty anſwer left the *Fabii* no hope of effecting an accommodation; and it would ſeem, that through the exceſs of their anger they forgot their character of ambaſſadors. For they ſoon after put themſelves at the head of the *Cluſians*, when theſe made a ſally; and *Quintus Fabius* had the fortune to kill a General of the enemy, remarkable for his advantageous ſtature, and gallant appearance. At firſt, the *Gauls* miſtook the victor for an *Hetrurian*; but while he was ſtripping the vanquiſhed of his armour, BRENNUS perceived, that he was one of the *Roman* ambaſſadors, who, violating the Law of Nations, had thus taken part with the beſieged. Inſtantly he ceaſed the fight, and ſounded a retreat from before *Cluſium*: ROME was now his object. Some of his officers would have had him march thither without the leaſt delay. The advice of the elder ſort prevailed: BRENNUS, before he ſet forward, diſpatched a herald to demand of the *Romans*, that, in ſatisfaction for the injury, done by their Ambaſſadors, theſe, as the Law of Nations required, ſhould be delivered up to the *Gauls*.

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The demand did not appear unreaſonable to the *Conſcript Fathers*: The Prieſts eſpecially and the *Feciales* [the *Roman* Heralds] declared that it was perfectly juſt. Nevertheleſs, as it concerned perſons of high birth, and great credit, the Senate would determine nothing; but referred the matter to an *Aſſembly of the People*: And ſo powerful an influence had *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father of the ambaſſadors, on the multitude, that they not only decreed to ſend back the herald

rald without the ſatisfaction required, but choſe the delinquents to be three of the ſix [a] Military Tribunes for the new year.

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BRENNUS, on the return and report of his herald, put his army in march with all expedition [b]. Obſerving that the inhabitants of the villages fled, in a fright, at his approach, he cauſed it to be proclaimed, where-ever he paſſed, that his arms were bent againſt the *Romans* only, and that to *Rome* he was going.

The *Romans* (as *Livy* obſerves) ſeem to have been, at this time, infatuated. In their petty wars with the *Fidenates*, *Veientes* and other neighbours, it had been their uſual practice, on occaſions of extraordinary diſtreſs or danger, to create a Dictator; in whoſe ſingle and abſolute authority they always found great advantages, with reſpect both to the levying ſoldiers for the war, and to the maintaining diſcipline in the field; and the perſon choſen to this high office was ever from among their ableſt and moſt approved Generals: But now, when threatened by a far more dreadful enemy than the moſt potent of the neighbouring States, they neglected an ex-

[a] FABIUS,
CÆSO FABIUS,
CAIUS FABIUS,
Q. SULPITIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS, a fourth time,
SER. CORNELIUS.

[b] *Diod. Sic.* Lib. iv. makes *Brennus* wait the arrival of a reinforcement from *Gaul*, before he begins his march; and this delay will give time (which otherwiſe it will be hard to find, for the ſollicitations of *Fabius* the father, and the new Elections.

pedient

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pedient ſo ſucceſsfully tried, and committed the conduct of an army, on which the preſervation of *Rome* depended, to ſix commanders, equal in authority, moſt of them young, and of more ſpirit than capacity.

With a large body of troops, levied in the haſte of a general conſternation, they marched out, and met the *Gauls* near the place, where the river *Allia* falls into the *Tiber*, about eleven miles from the city. And here they immediately preſented battle to the enemy, without having taken any of thoſe previous meaſures, which were cuſtomary, and which prudence and the ſuperſtitious prejudices of the ſoldiers required. No fortified camp behind them, to retreat to in caſe of a diſaſter: A total neglect of religion; no ſacrifices, no *Auſpicia*, no promiſe of victory from bird nor beaſt. Fearing to be ſurrounded by the *Gauls*, ſuperior[c] in number, they thinned their center (weakening it too much) in order to extend their wings and make their line of an equal length with that of the enemy; which, nevertheleſs, they did not effect. Wherefore, to defend their right flank (for their left was defended by the *Tiber*) they poſted a body of reſerve on a ſmall hill, which ſtood on the right of their Battalia. *Brennus* ſuſpecting that theſe troops were to fall on his flank or rear, during

[c] *Diodorus Siculus* reports (B. 4.) that the *Gauls* were 70,000 ſtrong. *Plutarch* ſays, the *Roman* army amounted to 40,000 men, and was equal in number to the *Gauls*.

Livy, *Diod. Siculus*, and *Plutarch* differ in ſome circumſtances of this action, but agree in the main.

the

the heat of the engagement, thought it expedient to begin by diſlodging them from their poſt. While this was doing, a pannick ſeized the main army of the *Romans*. Intire, unattacked, and without ſtriking a ſtroke, they turned their backs, and fled; ſo that not one ſoldier fell in battle; great numbers in the rout. The troops of the left wing threw themſelves into the *Tiber*, where many were drowned; but the greater part, eſcaping both that danger and the darts of the purſuers, got ſafe to *Veii*; from whence they neither attempted to go home, nor even ſent thither any advice of their defeat. The whole right wing made the beſt of their way to *Rome*, and, when they had entered the city, without ſtopping to ſhut the gates after them, fled for refuge into the citadel.

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If the *Gauls* had cloſely purſued theſe terrified legions in their flight, nothing could have hindered the total extinction of the *Roman* name. But the conquerors, not imagining their victory to be ſo compleat as it was, loſt three days in banqueting and dividing the ſpoil; ſo that the *Romans* (who deſpaired of preſerving the city) had time to ſecure the fortreſs of the capitol [a]. Proviſions, arms, every thing neceſſary for defence,

[a] Thus writes *Plutarch*: *Livy* tells us, that the *Gauls* did march to *Rome* the very day of the victory, and arrived there before ſun-ſet; but finding the gates open and the walls without ſoldiers to defend them, aſtoniſhment, and the apprehenſion of ſome ſtratagem, to be executed by the *Romans* in the night, made *Brennus* incamp at a ſmall diſtance from the town. *Livy*, B. 5, c. 39.

were

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were with the utmoſt diligence conveyed into it. Thither the ſtrength of the Senate, and all the citizens, able to bear arms, retired, not excluding their wives and children from that aſylum. As for the old men, not capable of either ſerving the publick or ſhifting for themſelves, it was thought the loſs of them might be eaſily borne, ſeeing they were a generation, that, by the courſe of nature, muſt very ſoon go off the ſtage. And, in order to induce the multitude of ſuperannuated men of the lower rank to acquieſce the more readily in their being left in the city to the mercy of the *Gauls*, ſome ancient Conſulars and victorious Generals, who had been honoured with *the Triumph*, declared publickly, that *they would die with them: Theſe bodies, too weak to ſupport the weight of arms, too weak to be employed in the defence of our country, ought not to be a burthen upon thoſe who are armed for its preſervation, and who may ſoon be diſtreſſed by a ſcarcity of proviſions:* Then, turning to the ſoldiery, and following them all the way to the citadel, pathetically recommended *to their bravery and youthful vigour the defence of what remained of a State, that for more than* 360 *years had, in all its wars, been victorious.* But when the moment came that theſe venerable elders and the young men were to take a final leave of each other, deep was the diſtreſs which that ſcene exhibited; and it was made conſummate by the weeping and lamentations of the women, diſtractedly running to and fro, from their huſbands to their ſons, from their ſons to their huſbands, aſking now theſe, now thoſe,

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What ſhall we do? irreſolute, undetermined which to follow—whoſe fate to ſhare.

A great number of the women, however, tho' not invited, followed their relations into the citadel, no-body oppoſing it; for how inconvenient ſoever the admitting them might prove, there was no avoiding that inconvenience without being inhuman. The remaining multitude (which conſiſted chiefly of the populace) too numerous to be lodged within a fortreſs that ſtood on ſo ſmall a hill, or to be fed there, if it could have contained them, poured forth from the city in a mighty throng, paſſing over the bridge *Sublicius* to the *Janiculum*; from whence they diſperſed themſelves about the country, having neither leader to conduct them, nor any concerted ſcheme to follow.

In the mean time, the prieſt of *Romulus* and the veſtals, after conſulting together, agreed to hide, under ground, ſuch of the holy things as they could not carry off; which done, theſe likewiſe (bearing, as it is ſaid, the ſacred fire, and other important matters) made the beſt of their way to the *Janiculum*[a]; and from thence they were conducted

[a] *Livy* tells us (B. 5. c. 40.) that one *Albinius*, a *Plebeian*, who was conveying his wife and children in a cart, to ſome place of ſafety, obſerving the holy virgins, with their holy burthens, aſcending the *Janiculum* on foot, thought it irreligious to let his family ride while the veſtals walk'd; and therefore, making his people alight, he put the prieſteſſes, and their ſacred cargoes, into the cart, and conducted them to *Cære*.

Here

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ducted to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, where they continued to perform their accuſtomed religious rites and worſhip of the Gods.

When the crowd of ſuperannuated patriots had, by their advice and exhortations to the ſoldiers, done all that was in their power towards the defence of the capitol, they returned to their houſes, there to wait, with ſteady reſolution, the coming of the enemy, and death. Such of them, as had *triumphed* for victories, or had been *Curule* Magiſtrates, that they might die with the greater dignity, adorned themſelves with the inſignia of thoſe honours which they had acquired by their virtue. Cloathed in their triumphal robes, or in thoſe of their magiſtracies, they repaired to the Forum[b], and ſeating themſelves there, in their curule chairs, maintained the ſame reſpectable air of greatneſs, as when in the fulneſs of their former power.

Some ſay, that the *Pontifex Maximus* pronounced over theſe ancients the form of words preſcribed, in caſes of ſelf-devotement; which was a high point of religion and virtue among the *Romans*, they believing that the voluntary ſacrifice which their leaders made of their own lives to the

Here they met with a favourable reception, and becauſe the veſtals *remained at Cære*, and continued to perform the rites of religion there, thoſe rites were thence called *Ceremonies* from *Cære*, and *Manere* to *Remain*. Val. Max. B. 5. c. 9.

[b] *Livy* ſays, that they ſeated themſelves in the porches or halls of their own houſes.

infernal

infernal Gods, brought confuſion and deſtruction upon the enemy.

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As the *Gauls* had met with little reſiſtance from the *Romans* in the field, and were not put to the trouble of an aſſault to take the city, they entered it (at the gate *Collina*) without any thing, in their appearance, of hoſtile anger, that raging flame kindled by oppoſition, difficulty and danger. Moving on, they beheld, with amazement, the ſtreets unpeopled as a deſert; and when they came to the Forum, and caſt their eyes all around, they could obſerve no ſhew of war but in the citadel alone. What chiefly drew and fixed their attention, was the company of venerable victims, who had *devoted* themſelves to death. Their magnificent purple robes, their long white beards, their air of greatneſs, their ſilence, ſtillneſs, and ſerenity, all theſe aſtoniſhed the *Gauls*, held them at an awful diſtance, and inſpired them with the ſame reſpect which they would have had for ſo many Gods. It chanced, however, that one of the ſoldiers (who was, probably, leſs apt to be religiouſly affected than his comrades) took the freedom gently to put his hand towards the beard of *Manius Papirius*, as if he meant to ſtroke it; a familiarity which ſo offended the majeſtick figure, that, with a ſmart blow of his ivory truncheon, he broke the fellow's head. There needed no more to put an end to all reverence for ſuch a cholerick deity. The *Gaul* inſtantly killed *Papirius*; and as if, by this, he had given the ſignal for a general maſſacre, all the reſt were now ſlain, ſitting, like him, in ſtate,

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ſtate, in their curule chairs. After which, *Brennus* having properly poſted a guard to prevent any attack, from the citadel, upon his men, when divided and diſperſed about the city, theſe betook themſelves to plunder and deſtroy; they ſpared not a mortal, made no diſtinction of age or ſex; and, when they had rifled the houſes, ſet ſome of them on fire.

The firſt day, no great execution was done upon the houſes; which makes it doubted, whether the *Gauls* originally intended to deſtroy *Rome* totally, or, whether by letting the *Romans* ſee part of the city in flames, they meant to terrify them, and engage them to a ſurrendry, by the hope of ſaving the remainder. Be that as it will, the garriſon of the capitol were ſteady in their reſolution not to yield; and the *Gauls* proceeded to lay all *Rome* level with the ground. Inſtead of a conſiderable city, nothing now was to be ſeen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which *Brennus* incamped his army, inveſting the [a] citadel. Once he attempted to ſcale the hill on which that ſtood; but without ſucceſs: The *Romans* met their enemies in the mid-way of the aſcent, and, having ſo

[a] *Livy*, B. 5. c. 46. relates that one *Fabius Dorſo*, being obliged on a certain day to perform a ſacrifice to the tutelar Gods of his family, and the hill *Quirinalis* being the only place where this ſacrifice could regularly be performed, when the day came, he dreſſed himſelf like a ſacrificer, came out of the Capitol, carrying his Gods with him; and that the *Gauls*, out of a regard to religion, ſuffered him to paſs to the place appointed, and to return in ſafety to the Citadel, after he had offered his ſacrifice.

great

great advantage of the ground, eaſily repulſed them; and the *Gauls* became ſenſible that they could never, by aſſault, poſſeſs themſelves of the place. It was determined therefore, that one part of the army ſhould blockade it, while the other made incurſions into the adjacent countries for proviſions.

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Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

§. IV. FORTUNE conducted theſe foragers to the neighbourhood of *Ardea*, whither CAMILLUS, in his exile, had retired. This great man, leſs afflicted for his own misfortunes, than for the calamities of his country, and watchful to ſeize every opportunity of ſerving her, received intelligence, that the *Gauls*, ſecure in the terror of their arms, preſerved no order nor diſcipline in their marches: That they ſpent whole days in drinking: And that neither officer nor ſoldier dreamt of other Enemies, beſide thoſe who were blocked up in the capitol. Thus furniſhed with arguments he addreſſed himſelf to the magiſtrates, and obtained their permiſſion to lead out, againſt the common enemy, the youth of the city. Theſe were very willing to follow him. He choſe the dead of night for his expedition, and ſurprizing the *Gauls*, unarmed and aſleep, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them; and thoſe that eſcaped under ſhelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peaſants, who gave them no quarter.

The news of this action was quickly ſpread far and wide. It gave freſh courage to the *Romans*, who had taken refuge in *Veii*. Theſe formed a pretty ſtrong body: They had juſt cut off two

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parties of *Hetrurian* pillagers; and their ſtrength was now increaſed by the coming of thoſe ſoldiers who, after the defeat at the river *Allia*, had diſperſed themſelves about the country.

All in general looked upon *Camillus* as their laſt reſource, and earneſtly wiſhed to have him for their leader. "He is no longer an exile. "*Rome* is no more, we have now no country. "Why muſt the *Ardeates*, who are ſtrangers, "acquire glory under the conduct of *Camillus*, "while we, once his fellow-citizens, lie idle and "ſee our country poſſeſſed by the *Gauls?*" They preſently ſent deputies with an humble requeſt to him to be their commander.

Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

Camillus would not [a] take the command of the *Romans* upon him, without the approbation, firſt obtained, of the Senate in the Capitol. To learn the Senate's pleaſure was very difficult, the place being inveſted by the enemy. Nevertheleſs a young man, named *Pontius Cominius*, undertook it. He put on a light habit, provided himſelf with cork, and in the beginning of the night threw himſelf into the *Tiber* above *Rome*. The ſtream carried him undiſcovered to the foot of the capitoline hill; and at a very ſteep place, where the *Gauls* had placed no centinels, he mounted with difficulty to the Citadel. Having made himſelf known to the guard, he was ſtrait

[a] *Livy* makes the People themſelves have this ſcruple. Conſenſu omnium placuit, ab Ardea Camillum acciri; ſed antea conſulto ſenatu, qui Romæ eſſet, adeo regebat omnia pudor, diſcriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus ſervabant. B. 5. c. 46.

admit-

admitted into the place and conducted to the Magiſtrates. Theſe, without delay, aſſembled the Senate: The deputy gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and, in the name of all the *Romans* at *Veii*, requeſted, that they might have him for their General. Not much time was ſpent in debates: The Senate decreed, *that* Camillus *ſhould, by an act of the people, aſſembled by* Curiæ, *be recalled from baniſhment, and, by the authority of the people, be immediately appointed* DICTATOR. *Pontius*, with the ſame good fortune that had attended him in going to the capitol, got back to *Veii*, bearing this *decree*; and the *Romans* in *Comitia Curiata* joyfully made a LAW conformable to it.

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Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

THUS was *Camillus* from the ſtate of baniſhment raiſed at once to be the ſovereign Magiſtrate of his country. On notice of the honour done him he repaired to *Veii*, and there quickly ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, *Romans* and allies.

§. V. WHILE he was preparing to march againſt the enemy, the Capitol had like to have been taken by ſurpriſe. Some *Gallick* ſoldiers having ſpied on the ſide of the hill the prints of *Pontius*'s hands and feet, made their report of it to *Brennus*; who immediately conceived a hope of ſcaling the hill by the ſame way that the *Roman* had aſcended. For the execution of this deſign, he choſe out of his army ſuch ſoldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accuſtomed from their early youth to climb precipices. Theſe, under cover of the night, climbed up from

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Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

rock to rock, and with much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, till they arrived at the foot of the wall.

They had got up ſo ſilently as not to be diſcovered by either man or dog: But they could not eſcape the vigilance of ſome geeſe, which being conſecrated to *Juno*, had, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of proviſions, been preſerved alive. Theſe creatures, naturally quick of hearing, and now more [a] wakeful than ordinary through hunger (having been kept at ſhort allowance) were alarmed at the firſt approach of the *Gauls*; ſo that running up and down, they, with their cackling and the beating of their wings, awaked the ſoldiers that lay near. *M. Manlius*, a Conſular perſon, was the firſt who ſtarting up ran to defend the wall. Of two *Gauls*, whom he found on the top of it, he ſlaſh'd off the hand of one, while aiming a blow at his head; and, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, with his buckler ſo ſtrongly puſhed back the other, that he fell from the rampart, in his fall overthrew all thoſe who were behind him. And now, ſome of the garriſon coming to the aid of *Manlius*, he eaſily repelled the reſt of the aſſailants, and drove them headlong down the precipice.

The beſieged, after their eſcape, paſſed the remainder of the night in as much tranquillity as men could do, whoſe minds had been alarmed

[a] The learned and judicious monſieur *Dacier* is much diſcontented with this philoſophical conceit of *Plutarch*'s, and is of opinion, that a gooſe, how well ſoever fed, will always be very wakeful.

and

and agitated by ſo great a danger. In the morning, at day-break, the Military Tribunes, by ſound of trumpet, called the ſoldiers together in order to diſpenſe rewards and puniſhments. Firſt of all *Manlius* was praiſed for his gallant behaviour, and had preſents, not only from the magiſtrates, but from all the ſoldiers; each of whom carried to his houſe, which ſtood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a ſmall meaſure of wine, which he ſpared out of his ſhort allowance: A reward [b] conſiderable only as it was a proof, in the preſent ſcarcity of proviſions, of the real affection of the givers.

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Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

After this, the centinels, through whoſe neglect of duty the *Gauls* had been able to mount, undiſcovered, to the rampart of the citadel, were cited to appear. The Military Tribune, *Sulpitius*, declared that he would puniſh them all, according to the laws of war; but finding that the ſoldiers diſapproved of this meaſure, and unanimouſly and loudly concurred in laying all the blame on one centinel, he thought it not ſafe to meddle with the reſt. The man, univerſally condemned, was thrown headlong from the rock.

But now famine began to oppreſs both parties

[b] The *Romans* extended their rewards and puniſhments even to the geeſe and dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them was always kept at the publick expence. A golden image of a gooſe was ſet up in memory of their ſervice; and a gooſe was every year carried in triumph on a ſoft litter finely adorned; whilſt thoſe dumb guards the dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder. *Plin. & Plut. de fort. Rom. C. & R.*

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Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

equally. *Camillus*, ſince his nomination to the Dictatorſhip, had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the roads. The *Gauls* durſt not ſtir out to forage; ſo that the beſiegers were themſelves beſieged, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniences that they made the *Romans* undergo. A contagious diſtemper alſo prevailed in the army of the *Gauls*, occaſioned by the great heats to which they were not accuſtomed.

§. VI. AT length the diſtreſs on both ſides occaſioned a truce and a parley. *Brennus* having intimated, that he would raiſe the ſiege (which had now laſted ſeven months) on the *Romans* paying an inconſiderable ranſom; and the ſoldiers in the capitol having ſignified to their commanders, that they could no longer ſupport the fatigue of continual watching, and the miſery of famine [c], and muſt therefore either ſurrender or

[c] *Lactantius* (B. 20.) tells us a ſtrange ſtory of the *Romans* being admoniſhed and directed in a dream, by *Jupiter*, tutelary god of the capitol, to make all the corn they had into bread, and throw it into *Brennus*'s camp, not reſerving the leaſt morſel of it for their neceſſities: And that the *Gauls*, being hereby deceived, and deſpairing to reduce the *Romans* by famine, raiſed the ſiege. In memory of the God's favour, the *Romans* erected an altar to him, under the name of *Jupiter Piſtor*, *Jupiter the Baker*. *Ovid* ſeems to countenance this ſtory, Faſt. B. 6.

Poſſe fame vinci ſpes excidit, hoſte repulſo,
Diſcam Piſtoris quid velit ara Jovis.

Both *Livy* and *Florus* mention the throwing of loaves of bread from the capitol, in order to deceive; but they both aſcribe the driving away of the *Gauls* to *Camillus*. *C.* & *R.*

redeem themſelves, the Senate commiſſioned *Sulpitius* to treat with the enemy. A thouſand pound weight * of gold was the ranſom agreed upon; the price of a people who were one day to be lords of the world. The *Gauls* brought falſe weights; to which, when *Sulpitius* objected to them, the King inſultingly added his ſword, which he threw into the ſcale, giving no other reaſon, but *Woe to the vanquiſhed!* ‖ The *Romans* not being in a condition to reſent this affront, and wiſely conſidering, that the chief indignity they ſuffered was not in paying more than they had agreed to, but in paying any thing, were juſt on the point of finiſhing the affair, when on a ſudden appeared *Camillus* with his forces at the place of conference. [How he made his way thither unperceived, it is hard to gueſs.] Inſtantly he commanded the gold to be taken away, and the *Gauls* to depart: *'Tis with iron, not with gold, that the* Romans *are wont to defend their country.* In vain did *Brennus* repreſent to him, that he contravened a treaty, actually concluded. *Camillus* replied, that, he being Dictator, no treaty made without his approbation, could be valid; and he warned the King to prepare for battle. The *Gauls* were now routed with as much eaſe as they had defeated the *Romans* at the river *Allia*; and *Camillus* the next morning in a ſecond engagement with them on the *Gabinian* way, eight miles from *Rome*, ſo totally vanquiſhed and deſtroyed them, that not a man was left to carry home the news of their diſaſter. The Dictator returned in triumph to the city,

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* About 45000 l. ſterling.

‖ Væ victis.

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and the ſoldiers in their ſongs ſtiled him ROMULUS, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND SECOND FOUNDER OF ROME.

§. VII. *CAMILLUS*, who had thus [d] ſaved his country in war, may be ſaid to have preſerved it a ſecond time, when in peace, by hindering the

Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

[d] That *Camillus* THUS ſaved his country, as *Livy* and *Plutarch* report, is undoubtedly *fabulous*; though neither M. *Vertot*, nor the Jeſuits take notice of any objection there is againſt giving credit to the ſtory. M. *Rollin* indeed obſerves (*Hiſt. Rom. Tom. 2. p.* 384.) that *Polybius* (*B. 2. c.* 18.) ſilent concerning the double defeat of the *Gauls* by *Camillus*, imputes their retreat from *Rome*, to *their being called home to defend their own country againſt the* Veneti *who had invaded it:* Yet M. *Rollin ſeems* to think that the other account may nevertheleſs be true: for he adds, "It ought to be re-"marked, that *Polybius* does not enter into the particulars "of this *Grande Action*, but confines himſelf to the giving a "general idea of it." But *Polybius*, in the paſſage referred to, tells us, that the *Gauls did return home*, and had afterwards quarrels among themſelves; conſequently they were not put to the ſword by *Camillus*. And the ſame hiſtorian (B. 1. c. 6.) aſſerts, that the *Romans* [in the capitol] made a convention with the *Gauls*, *upon the terms which the latter thought fit to preſcribe*. And in B. 2. c. 22. he repreſents ſome Gallick Ambaſſadors encouraging two Kings of the *Geſatæ*, to join the *Gauls* in a war againſt *Rome*, by this conſideration, *That the Gauls had formerly vanquiſhed the Romans in battle, taken their city, held it ſeven months, and then reſtored it to them voluntarily, and out of mere generoſity*, [ἐθελονῖι καὶ μετὰ χάριτος] *returning ſafe home enriched with ſpoil.*

The pretended *generoſity* of the *Gauls* is a flouriſh of the Ambaſſadors, who are introduced ſpeaking; but the other facts agree with what is ſaid by *Polybius* himſelf, in the before cited paſſages; ſo that it is evident, this unbiaſſed hiſtorian did not believe one word of *Camillus*'s marvellous exploits againſt *Brennus*. See likewiſe *Sueton. Vit. Tib. c.* 3. *Juſtin. L.* 38. *c.* 4. *Dion. Sic. L.* 4.

people

people from removing to *Veii*; a project which was now renewed with more warmth than ever.

Year of ROME CCCLXII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-nine.

Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

The houſes of *Rome* being all demoliſhed, and the walls razed, a heartleſs deſpondency ſeized the multitude; they were extremely backward to ſet about rebuilding; and the rather, as *Veii* offered them a place fortified by art and nature, good houſes ready built, a wholeſome air, and a fruitful territory. They ſaid, "they were but "juſt eſcaped, as it were, quite naked from "ſhipwreck, exhauſted by misfortunes, without "ſtrength and without materials for rebuilding "a whole city, of which nothing was left but "the ruins." Nor did there want declaimers to throw out hard words againſt *Camillus*, as if from vain-glory and the ambition of being eſteemed a ſecond *Romulus*, a new founder of *Rome*, he oppoſed a deſign of ſuch great and general advantage.

On the other hand, the Senate, reſolutely determined againſt removing to *Veii*, would not ſuffer *Camillus* to quit the Dictatorſhip, after his triumph, and the expiration of his ſix months. They earneſtly intreated him not to leave the commonwealth in an unſettled ſtate. The Dictator complied with the deſire of the *Fathers*. And now, as he was ever moſt egregiouſly devout, the firſt buſineſs to which he gave his attention was what concerned the worſhip of the Gods. He obtained a decree of the Senate, "For purifying "all thoſe temples and ſanctuaries which had "been prophaned by being in the enemy's poſ-"ſeſſion; and for conſulting the Duumvirs, who

"had

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" had the care of the Sibylline books, about the " proper manner of purification.

" For making a league of hoſpitality with " the *Cærites*, who had ſo kindly entertained the " *Roman* prieſts and the veſtals:

" For celebrating the *Capitoline* games in ho- " nour of *Jupiter*, who had defended the place " of his reſidence, and the citadel of *Rome*; and " for impowering the Dictator to conſtitute a " college of perſons, choſen from among the in- " habitants of the Capitol and citadel, to ſuper- " intend that affair."

Mention too was made of expiations for having neglected *the miraculous voice* (heard in the night) which gave warning of the approach of the *Gauls*; and a temple ordered to be erected to the kind monitor (whoever he was) under the name of *Aius Locutius.*

It was likewiſe decreed, that the gold which had been reſcued out of the hands of the *Gauls*, and what other gold had in the midſt of danger and confuſion been taken out of various ſanctuaries and brought into that of *Jupiter*, ſhould, inaſmuch as it could not be diſtinctly remembered from whence and from whom the ſeveral parts of the treaſure came, be *all* deemed ſacred, and depoſited under the pedeſtal of *Jupiter*'s ſtatue.

All theſe pious regulations did not divert the *Tribunes of the Commons* from continually exhorting the multitude to leave *Rome*, that was nothing but a heap of ruins, and remove to the fair city of *Veii*. *Camillus* therefore, attended by the whole ſenate, repaired to the forum, and made a moſt

moſt elaborate [a] ſpeech to the people there aſſembled. His chief arguments were addreſſed to their ſuperſtition. *Could they find in their hearts to forſake* Jupiter, Veſta, Mars, *and Father* Romulus? [as if *Jupiter* and *Veſta* and *Mars* and *Romulus*, if ſpoken civilly to, would not have removed from *Rome* to *Veii*, as readily, and in as good humour, as *Juno* came from *Veii* to *Rome.*] It is ſaid, that his diſcourſe made a conſiderable impreſſion on the multitude; but that what determined them abſolutely not to remove, was a chance word ſeaſonably ſpoken. For ſhortly after, the Senate being aſſembled, in the *Curia Hoſtilia*, to deliberate on this important affair, juſt as *L. Lucretius* (the firſt called upon, to give his opinion) was going to ſpeak, a Centurion, who (as *Plutarch* relates it) came with his company to relieve the guard, was diſtinctly heard to ſay, *Enſign, plant your colours*, THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN*. Inſtantly *Lucretius* and all the Senators ran out of the Temple, crying a-

Year of ROME CCCLXIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-eight.

Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 5. c. 55. Plut. p. 145.

* Hic manebimus optimè.

[a] *Camillus*, in this ſpeech, inſiſts much on the conſtant experience which the *Romans* had of proſperous or adverſe fortune, according to their obſervance, or neglect of religious duties. And he mentions ſome rites of religion, the performance of which was confined to certain places in *Rome*, and could not be transferred elſewhere. This may have been true of *ſome* rites. But when our hiſtorian makes CAMILLUS aſk — *Where can the* COMITIA CURIATA, *for military affairs, be* AUSPICIOUSLY *held but in the uſual place? Shall we tranſfer them to* VEII? he ſeems to have forgot, that, by his own account, CAMILLUS had been recalled from baniſhment, and appointed to the dignity he then held, by the people in *Comitia Curiata*, held at VEII: and this in conformity to a decree of the Senate. *Liv. B. 5. c. 46.*

loud

Year of ROME CCCLXIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-eight.

loud, *A happy Omen! the Gods* [a] *have ſpoken, and we obey.* The multitude univerſally approved the notion [b]: All doubt was now at an end: No more any mention of *Veii:* ROME *for ever!*

An Inter-regnum followed the Dictatorſhip of *Camillus:* For the *Romans* would not ſuffer the Military Tribunes, during whoſe magiſtracy the city had been taken, to hold the Comitia for electing new Magiſtrates. And no ſooner was [c] *Q. Fabius* out of office, than *C. Marcius*, one of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, ſummoned him to anſwer for his conduct (of which the conſequence had been ſo fatal) when ambaſſador to the *Gauls.* Sudden death, ſuppoſed to be voluntary, freed him from this proſecution.

Thirty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

Camillus and *P. Cornelius Scipio* performed the office of Inter-rex, by turns, for a few days. It fell to the former to preſide at the election of Military Tribunes.

[a] M. *Dacier*, on this occaſion, obſerves, that *Cicero* held it to be direct Atheiſm, to deſpiſe or laugh at ſuch omens. *Cic.* de *Divin.* lib. 1.

[b] What the *Centurion* ſaid, if really ſpoken by chance, or believed ſo to be, furniſhed a reaſon of the ſame kind with ſome of thoſe which *Camillus* had employed in the long harangue, given him by *Livy*; and was as good a reaſon as any of his, for not removing from *Rome.*

[c] By this paſſage of *Livy* it would ſeem, that the ſame *Military Tribunes* who commanded the army againſt the *Gauls* at the battle of the *Allia*, were ſtill in office, when *Camillus* laid down the Dictatorſhip; and if ſo, either they muſt have held their Magiſtracy two years, or *Camillus* cannot have held the Dictatorſhip ſo long as he is repreſented by the *Capitoline* Marbles to have done; *i. e.* part of the year 363, and all 364.

§. VIII.

§. VIII. THE ſix new Magiſtrates were *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricoſtus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus*. Their firſt care (after conſulting the Senate) was to collect the treaties with foreign States, and what remains could be found of the laws of the Kings, and of the twelve tables, which had been written on braſs, and fixed up in the *Forum*. Some of theſe were communicated to the Publick; but of ſuch as related to religious worſhip, the Pontifices made themſelves the depoſitaries, that they might likewiſe be the interpreters of them, and occaſionally make them ſerve as a means to keep the populace in reverence and ſubjection. In making a liſt of lucky and unlucky days, the fifteenth of the Calends of *Auguſt*, (*i. e.* the eighteenth of *July*) was particularly marked among the latter, as memorable for two unfortunate battles; that in which the 300 *Fabii* were ſlain near the *Cremera*, and that wherein the *Romans* were defeated by the *Gauls* upon the banks of the *Allia*; no ſacrifices were to be offered, no buſineſs done in the courts of Juſtice, no new expedition begun on this day; and ſo of ſeveral others.

Year of ROME CCCLXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty ſeven.

Thirty-third Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 1.

And now the care of all was the rebuilding [a] of the city. The State furniſhed tiles, and the People were allowed to take ſtone and other ma-

[a] *Plutarch* (in *Camillo*, p. 145.) tells us, that among the ruins of the city, and under a heap of aſhes, was found *Romulus*'s augural ſtaff unburnt: And that this was looked upon to portend the everlaſting preſervation and proſperity of the *Roman* ſtate.

terials

Year of ROME CCCLXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-ſeven.

terials wherever they could find them, giving ſecurity to finiſh their houſes within the year. The hurry in which they went to work, made them heedleſs whether the ground they built on was their own or their neighbours; each raiſed his houſe where he found an empty ſpace, ſo that the common ſewers, which before ran under the ſtreets, ran now under the houſes. And ſo little taſte had they for order and beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even leſs regular than in the time of *Romulus:* And tho' in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* was become the capital of the world, the temples, palaces, and private houſes, were more magnificent than before, yet theſe decorations could not rectify the fault of the plan.

Thirty-third Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

THIRD BOOK.

From the Year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the Year 489, when the ROMANS, having ſubdued ALL ITALY, began the firſt PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians, Æqui, Volſci, Latines, *and* Hernici, *all the nations bordering upon the* Roman *State, combine to take advantage of its weak condition.* CAMILLUS, *appointed now the third time to the Dictatorſhip, raiſes a numerous army, which he divides in ſeveral bodies for different ſervices. He marches in perſon, with one part of the troops, againſt the* Volſci, *forces their camp, and ſubdues that People: After which he takes the capital city of the* Æqui, *and recovers* Sutrium *from the* Hetrurians.

rians. §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth is again governed by* Military Tribunes) *the* Roman *arms proſper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. Four new* Tribes *are added to the twenty-one.* §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the* Romans *chuſe* Camillus *to be one of the ſix* Military Tribunes *for the next year. He leads the* Roman *troops firſt againſt the* Volſci *of* Antium, *and then againſt the* Hetrurians; *and has ſucceſs in both expeditions. The* Latines *and* Hernici *ſubmit.*

Year of ROME CCCLXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-ſeven.

§. I. ROME, ariſing as it were out of her own aſhes, appeared once more a city. But ſcarce did her citizens begin to take breath, when new wars called them again into the field. The *Hetrurians*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci*, all near neighbours of *Rome*, and of courſe her enemies, made a league to oppreſs her before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. Nay the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who had long been allies of the *Roman* People, engaged in this deſign. The *Romans* ſeem to have loſt their empire when the ſeat of it was deſtroyed, and to have had moſt of the ſame conqueſts to repeat, as after the expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud*, and the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth.

Thirty-third Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 2.

In this diſtreſsful ſituation the Republick had recourſe to a General, always ſuperior to dangers and difficulties. *Camillus* was a third time named Dictator. Immediately he ſummoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old

Plut. Life of Camillus, p. 145, 146. Livy, B. 6. c. 2.

old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies, cauſed one of them to incamp under the walls of *Rome*, appointing *A. Manlius* to command it: The ſecond he ordered into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, under the conduct of *L. Æmilius*, to watch the motions of the *Hetrurians*: And he led the third himſelf againſt the *Volſci*. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror; they now thought no more of conqueſt; their whole ſtudy was how to avoid being conquered; they ſhut themſelves up in their camp, which they fortified with a ſtrong paliſade of ſtakes, and a barricade of trees. *Camillus* having obſerved the nature of their fortification, cauſed his ſoldiers to throw fire in great quantity againſt it. The fire, made fiercer by a briſk wind, that chanced to riſe, and blow the flame and ſmoke full upon the camp, preſently deſtroyed the wooden fence, and put the ſoldiers into ſuch a conſternation, that they ruſhed out in crowds, and fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who made a terrible ſlaughter of them. *Camillus* then ſent to extinguiſh the flames, in order to ſave the booty, with which (as he had taken the camp by aſſault) he rewarded his army; a bounty ſo much the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected from the Dictator, who had never been known to be over liberal on theſe occaſions. Purſuing the routed enemy in their flight, he ravaged the whole country of the *Volſci*, and at length intirely ſubdued that untractable People, after they had harraſſed the Repub-

Year of ROME CCCLXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-ſeven.

Thirty-third Mil. Trib.

Year of ROME CCCLXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-ſeven.

lick with continual hoſtilities for more than 107[a] years. From the *Volſci* he next turned his forces againſt the *Æqui*, and by aſſault made himſelf maſter, not only of their camp, but of their principal city, *Bola*. In the mean time almoſt all *Hetruria* had taken arms, and was now engaged in the ſiege of *Sutrium*, a town in alliance with *Rome*. *Camillus*, by order of the Senate, marched to its relief. The place had capitulated before he came, and the inhabitants had obtained nothing but their lives and the clothes on their backs. In this deſtitute condition they were going to ſeek new habitations, when *Camillus* met them, bad the women dry up their tears, and promiſed to transfer their ſorrows to the enemy. His promiſe he performed: For the *Hetrurians*, ſecure after their victory, and wholly employed in plundering, had left the gates of *Sutrium* open, and without guards. He came upon them by ſurpriſe, ſlew many, and made an incredible number priſoners. The *Sutrini*, before night, found themſelves again in poſſeſſion of their city, which had been thus twice taken in one day.

Thirty-third Mil. Trib. Liv. B. 6. c. 3. Plut. Life of Camillus, p. 145, 146.

Livy, B. 6. c. 4.

This expedition ended, the great *Camillus*, victorious in three wars, in one and the ſame year, entered *Rome* triumphant.

[a] So the critics ſay we ſhould read, inſtead of 70, as it is in *Livy*, there being from the year 258, when the war was *renewed* againſt the *Volſci*, in the Conſulate of *Ap. Claudius* and *P. Servilius* to this time 107 years. We find that *Tarquin the Proud* made war with the *Volſci*. And we ſhall find preſently, that *all* the *Volſci* were not now ſubdued.

With

With part of the money raiſed by ſelling the *Hetrurian* captives (after they had been led before his chariot) the *Roman* Ladies were paid the value of the jewels they had formerly lent to the State: And with the remainder the Senate bought three vaſes of gold, which, with *Camillus*'s name inſcribed on them, they placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*.

Year of ROME Bef. J. C. CCCLXVI. Three hundred eighty-ſix.

Thirty-fourth Mil. Trib.

§. II. UNDER the ſix [a] new Military Tribunes of the following year affairs proſper'd abroad: They ravaged the country of the *Æqui*, and took two cities, *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*, from the *Hetrurians*.

The *Romans* being at this time in a humour for building, the capitol was now rebuilt (or repaired) with ſquare ſtone, and with ſo happy an execution, as to be thought worthy of admiration, even in the reign of *Auguſtus*.

While the People were buſied in this ſort of works publick and private, the Tribunes of the Commons endeavoured to revive the old quarrel about the *diviſion of the conquered lands*, on occaſion of the *Pomptin* territory, for which the *Romans* and *Volſci* had long ſtruggled, and which, after the Republick had got poſſeſſion of it, the *Patricians* had appropriated to themſelves. But the time was ill choſen for making a buſtle about

Livy, B. 6. c. 5.

[a] T. QUINCTIUS,
L. SERVILIUS, a fifth time,
L. JULIUS,
L. AQUILIUS,
L. LUCRETIUS,
SER. SULPICIUS,

Year of ROME CCCLXVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-five.

this affair, becauſe the minds of the Commons were ſo intent on building, that they did not much frequent the Forum; and, beſides, they were almoſt quite drain'd of their money, and had not enough left for the expence of cultivating new farms, and ſtocking them with cattle. They took little notice therefore of the harangues of their Tribunes. The Military Tribunes for this year, upon ſome ſcruple concerning the validity of their election, voluntarily laid down their offices, and, after a ſhort *Inter-regnum*, ſix [b] new ones were choſen; whoſe year, being a year of peace, was ſpent in works of peace. To the *twenty-one* tribes were added *four* new ones, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina*, and *Arnienſis*.

Thirty-fifth M.l. Trib.

Year of ROME CCCLXVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-four.

§. III. THE expectation of a war induced the centuries to chuſe * *Camillus* to be one of the Military Tribunes for the next year. They gave him, for his Collegues, ‡ *Ser. Cornelius*, † *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*, all men of moderation, who knew how to do themſelves and *Camillus* juſtice. In full Senate they transferred their authority into his hands, and left to him the ſole management of the war, ſo that he was in effect Dictator. The Republick had deſign'd to turn her arms againſt the *Hetrurians*; but this deſign was altered upon the

Thirty-ſixth Mil. Trib.

* A fourth time.

‡ A ſecond time.

† A ſixth time.

Liv. B. 6. c. 6.

[b] L. PAPIRIUS,
C. SERGIUS,
L. ÆMILIUS, a ſecond time,
L. MENENIUS,
L. VALERIUS, a third time,
C. CORNELIUS.

news,

news, that the *Antiates* * had entered the *Pomptin* territory in arms, and obliged the *Romans*, who had taken poſſeſſion of it, to quit it. *Camillus* allotted to each of his Collegues an employment ſuitable to his rank, and joined *Valerius* with himſelf in the command of the army which was to march againſt the *Antiates*; but *Valerius* refuſed to be upon an equal foot with *Camillus*, *No*, (ſaid he) *you ſhall be my Dictator, and I will ſerve under you as your General of the Horſe.* The *Latines* and *Hernici* had joined the *Antiates* near *Satricum*: So that the *Roman* ſoldiers, when they came within ſight of the enemy, were terrify'd at their numbers, which *Camillus* underſtanding, mounted his horſe, rode through the ranks, put his men in mind, that theſe were the ſame *Latines* and *Volſci* whom they had ſo often vanquiſh'd, and that he was the ſame *Camillus* who had led them ſo often to victory. He then diſmounted, took the next ſtandard-bearer by the hand, and led him towards the enemy, crying out at the ſame time, *ſoldiers advance.* A battle enſued, in which the enemy were intirely overthrown. The *Latines* and *Hernici* ſeparated from the *Volſci*, and returned home. The *Volſci* fled for refuge to *Satricum*: *Camillus* came before it, and carried it by aſſault. He then left his army under the command of *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome*, to ſollicit the Senate's conſent, and get things neceſſary for undertaking the ſiege of *Antium.* While he was propoſing this affair to the *Conſcript Fathers*, Deputies arrived from *Nepete* and *Sutrium* (cities in alliance with *Rome*, and that were, in a man-

Year of ROME CCCLXVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-four.

Thirty-ſixth Mil. Trib.

* i. e. The Volſci of Antium, Livy, B. 6. c. 7.

c. 8.

c. 9.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-four.

Thirty-fixth Mil. Trib.

ner, its bulwark, as well as the keys of *Hetruria*, demanding ſuccours againſt the *Hetrurians*. The Senate ordered *Camillus* to their relief, and aſſigned him thoſe troops which *Servilius* had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in readineſs in caſe of an exigence. He marched, came before *Sutrium*, found it almoſt taken, and preſerved it. *Nepete* had ſurrendered voluntarily to the *Hetrurians*, the greater part of the inhabitants being better affected to them than to the *Romans*. The recovery of this place ſeemed therefore a work of greater difficulty. However, he took it at the firſt aſſault, and having put the garriſon to the ſword, condemned the Authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the Lictors.

Livy, B. 6. c. 30.

Camillus, before the end of this year, called the *Latines* and *Hernici* to account for their late conduct. The Magiſtrates of thoſe nations alledged, that the reaſon of their not aiding the *Romans* was the neceſſity they had been under to keep their troops at home to defend their own country; and that as to the aſſiſtance which ſome of their People had given to the enemies of *Rome*, they had done it without authority, and had been puniſhed for their fault; not one of them having returned ſafe home. Theſe excuſes were not ſatisfactory, but the Senate readily admitted them, being unwilling at this juncture to multiply the enemies of the Commonwealth.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

§. I. M. Manlius *(who ſaved the Capitol) uſes ſuch Methods to make himſelf popular, as alarm the* Senate. *They name a* Dictator, *who commits him to priſon, and preſently after reſigns his office. The* Senate *fearing the rage of the People, who are devoted to* Manlius, *ſet him at liberty.* §. II. Camillus *is choſen one of the* Military Tribunes *for the next year. Two of the* Tribunes *of the* Commons *impeach* Manlius *of treaſon, and, by ſentence of the People, he is thrown headlong from the* Tarpeian *rock.*

§. I. IN the following Magiſtracy of ſix[a] Military Tribunes, a dangerous war abroad, and a more dangerous ſedition at home, diſtreſſed the Republick. The *Volſci*, joined by the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who had revolted from *Rome*, commenced the war: the ſedition had for its author a *Roman* of high birth, conſummate bravery, and illuſtrious fame. *Marcus Manlius* (who ſaved the Capitol) though he had pride enough to deſpiſe all the other great men of *Rome*, yet envied one: He could not bear to ſee *Camillus* ſo diſtinguiſhed, as if he alone were

Year of ROME CCCLXIX, Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 11. Plut. in Camillus, p. 148.

[a] A. MANLIUS, a ſecond time,
P. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time,
T. QUINCTIUS,
L. QUINCTIUS,
L. PAPIRIUS, a ſecond time,
C. SERGIUS, a ſecond time.

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

fit for the Supreme Magiſtracy and the command of the army. *This exalted man looks down upon his Collegues, as his miniſters, forgetting that he and they were elected under the ſame auſpices. What ground for all this arrogance? Could he have recovered* Rome, *if I had not firſt ſaved the* Capitol? *He came by ſurpriſe upon the* Gauls, *when employed in receiving the gold, and ſecure in the treaty of peace; I had to do with men armed, and juſt upon the point of taking the Citadel: Every ſoldier of his army had a ſhare in the glory of his exploit; but I had no companion in my victory.*

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

It is ſaid, that *Manlius* by ſuch ſpeeches gave vent to his envy; and that not finding his merit prized by the Nobles ſuitably to his own idea of it, forſook that party, concerted meaſures with the *Tribunes of the Commons*, and ſet himſelf to court the multitude. Not content with renewing the propoſal for *diſtributing the conquered lands*, he made himſelf the advocate and protector of ſuch *Plebeians* as were oppreſſed with debt. Nothing could be more popular at this time than a warm concern expreſs'd for inſolvent debtors; becauſe moſt of the lower People had been forced to borrow money, to rebuild their houſes. The Senate, alarmed at the proceedings of *Manlius*, thought it neceſſary to create a Dictator, who, by his abſolute power, might be able to cruſh the riſing faction; and the war with the *Volſci* (now ſtrengthened by the *Latines* and *Hernici*) furniſhed a plauſible pretence for this creation. The Dictatorſhip was given to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who

who named *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be General of the Horſe.

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

CORNELIUS, though he ſaw he ſhould have greater difficulties to ſtruggle with at home than abroad; yet, whether it were, that the buſineſs of the war was more than ordinarily urgent, or whether he thought that a victory in the field would add weight to his authority of Dictator, when he ſhould have need to exert it in the city, he made his levies with all expedition, marched away, and came to a battle with the *Volſci*, in the *Pomptin Territory*. Before the action began, he told his men, that the omens were ſo favourable as to leave no room to doubt of ſucceſs. He bad them lay their javelins down at their feet, keep together in cloſe order, and without ſtirring ſuſtain the enemy's firſt charge; in whoſe eyes, when they advanced in diſorder (after ſpending their darts in vain) they ſhould make their ſwords glitter, and every man call to mind that there were Gods who fought for the *Romans*. He directed *Quinctius* to reſtrain the ardor of his cavalry, till the infantry were engaged in fierce conflict, and then to fall on. Both horſe and foot obſerved his injunctions; and the *Volſci*, though much more numerous than the *Romans*, yet not being ſo well conducted, ſuffered a total defeat. Among the priſoners were found many conſiderable men of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who, being examined, confeſſed they had acted by authority; ſo that it was no longer a doubt whether thoſe two Nations had revolted.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6. c. 12.

c. 13.

The

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 14.

The Dictator hereupon kept his army in the field, believing aſſuredly that he ſhould be directed to carry the war into their countries; but a more preſſing affair obliged the Senate to ſend for him home. For *Manlius*, not by invective ſpeeches only, but by deeds of an exemplary generoſity, had raiſed againſt the Nobles, guilty of exceſſive uſury, ſuch a ſpirit of anger in the Commons, as ſeemed not eaſy to be laid. One day ſeeing a centurion, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many gallant exploits in war, and whom, his perſon being taken in execution of a judgment upon an action of debt, they were carrying through the Forum to the creditor's priſon, he ran haſtily, attended by a numerous company of his clients and other followers, and, laying faſt hold of the debtor,—*Oh the pride of theſe Patricians! the cruelty of theſe uſurers!—ſo brave a man! ſo unſuitable a fortune!—In vain did this right hand preſerve the* Capitol, *if I am to behold my fellow-citizen, my fellow-ſoldier, juſt as if he had fallen into the hands of the victorious* Gauls, *a wretched captive carried into ſlavery.* Then in the preſence of all the people he freed the debtor, by paying, in legal form, the whole debt to the creditor. The Centurion called upon Gods and men to reward his generous benefactor, *The father of the Commons of* Rome! and being now admitted into the tumultuous train, he contributed not a little to increaſe the tumult. Shewing the ſcars of the wounds, he had received, in the *Veientan, Gallick*, and other wars—*I was forced to borrow*

row money for the expence of attending the ſervice, and to rebuild my houſe. The amount of the principal I have paid over and over again in intereſt; intereſt ſo heavy and oppreſſive that I could never emerge out of debt; it was uſurious extortion that overwhelmed me — That I now partake of the common light, that I am permitted to ſee the Forum, the faces of my fellow-citizens, theſe are the pure effects of Marcus Manlius's *bounty. From him I have received all the benefits that a ſon can receive from a parent; and to him therefore I devote my body, my life, all that remains unſpilt of my blood. Whatever ties I have to my country, to the Gods of my country, to my houſhold-gods, thoſe ſame ties faſten me inviolably to* that one man. Both the nobleneſs of the act, and the effuſion of praiſe and gratitude from the perſon obliged, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the multitude, that they were already diſpoſed to attach themſelves, like the Centurion, to *that one man*, when he did another thing, which was ſtill better imagined, to turn their heads quite, and to throw all things into confuſion[a]. Having, in the territory of *Veii*, a farm, the chief part of his eſtate, he cauſed the publick cryer to notify the ſale of it — *No*, Romans, *whilſt I have any thing left, I will never ſuffer, that any one of you be caſt into the priſon of his creditor.* Nor did he ſtop here in his endeavours to make himſelf popular, and to alie-

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

[a] —— addita alia commotionis ad omnia turbanda conſilii res. Fundum in *Veienti*, caput Patrimonii, ſubjecit præconi: ne quem veſtrum, inquit, Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea ſupererit, judicatum, addictumque duci patiar. c. 14.

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

nate intirely the hearts of the commons from the Senate. In aſſemblies which he held in his own houſe (in the citadel) he confidently gave out, that the Senators, not content with being the ſole poſſeſſors of thoſe lands, which ought to have been divided equally among all the citizens, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own uſe, the gold which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and which had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the Capitol; a treaſure which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor *Plebeians*. And he promiſed to ſhew them, in due time, where this treaſure was hid. So pleaſing a proſpect, as that of every man's having his debts diſcharged, took up all the attention of the People; their whole care was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the *Patricians*.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6. c. 15.

Things were in this ſituation when the Dictator returned to the city. Having agreed with the Senate upon the meaſures to be taken, he went to the Forum, accompanied by the Fathers, and a great number of other *Patricians*, aſcended his tribunal, and ſent a Lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius* did not diſobey the ſummons, but making all his adherents follow him, he approached the Tribunal with ſo numerous a guard, that the Aſſembly looked like two armies ready to join battle. Silence being made, the Dictator ſpoke thus: "I heartily wiſh, *Manlius*, that I and the Senate could in every thing "agree with the Commons of *Rome*, as readily

"as

" as I truſt we ſhall do in what concerns you, " and the matter I am going to queſtion you " upon. You have been heard to ſay, that ſome " of the principal Senators have ſecreted the gold " that was deſigned for the *Gauls*, and that this " fund alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all " the debts. I am ſo far from deſiring to hinder " ſuch an extraordinary benefit to the Commons, " that I exhort you earneſtly to eaſe them of that " burden of uſury they labour under, and to " name the men who have ſtolen and concealed " this important treaſure. But if you do not in- " ſtantly name thoſe robbers of the publick, be " aſſured that I ſhall without delay ſend you to " priſon, as an incendiary and a ſlanderer; for I " will not ſuffer you any longer to deceive the " People with vain hopes."

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

Manlius anſwered, " I find I was not miſta- " ken in my opinion, that the Dictator was cre- " ated, not to act againſt the *Volſci*, but againſt " me, and the *Commons* of *Rome*. He openly " eſpouſes the cauſe of the Uſurers, and I am to " be deſtroyed on account of the affection which " the people bear me. Does it indeed offend " you, *Cornelius*, and you, *Conſcript Fathers*, to " ſee the crouds that attend me? Why don't " you endeavour to ſhare their affection with " me? Why don't you relieve the poor citizens, " who are quite ſunk and overwhelmed with " debt? Pay for ſome, anſwer for others, ſup- " ply their neceſſities out of your ſuperfluities: " Nay, without beſtowing any thing upon them " of what you poſſeſs, do but deduct from the

" prin-

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

" principal ſums what you have received for in-
" tereſt. You will then ſee, that my train of
" followers will be no greater than any of yours.
" —— But why is *Manlius* (ſay you) the only
" man who thus concerns himſelf for the citi-
" zens? You may aſk me too, why I was the
" only man who ſaved the Capitol? As I then
" exerted myſelf for all in general, ſo now I am
" ready to give my help to every *Roman* in par-
" ticular. As to the ſecreted treaſure, you put
" a queſtion to me which you can better anſwer
" yourſelves. The very demand makes that
" difficult, which would otherwiſe have been
" eaſy. The more you preſs me to declare the
" place where the gold is hoarded, the more
" reaſon I have to believe that you have remov-
" ed it, and hid it beyond the reach of the moſt
" curious inquiry. Am I to reveal where your
" thefts are concealed? or ought not you ra-
" ther to be compelled to bring them forth?"
At theſe words the Dictator commanded him to give over his evaſions and ſubterfuges, and go directly to the proof of his charge, or elſe to confeſs before all the People, that he had ſlandered the Senate. To this *Manlius* replying, *That he would not ſpeak at the pleaſure of his enemies*, he was immediately ordered to priſon. When the Lictors laid hold of him, he cried out, O Jupiter, *moſt beneficent, moſt mighty*; O Juno, *Queen of Heaven*; O Minerva, *and all ye other Gods and Goddeſſes who reſide in the Capitol; will ye ſuffer your Champion and Defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which*

Livy, B. 6. c. 16.

which I drove the Gauls *from your ſanctuaries, be manacled and locked in chains?*

Year of ROME CCCLXIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

We have on this occaſion a ſurpriſing inſtance of the ready ſubmiſſion of the *Romans* to the commands of a lawful Magiſtrate. The People, though ſeditiouſly devoted to *Manlius*, made not the leaſt motion to hinder the execution of the ſentence; not an angry expreſſion was heard, nor a threatening look ſeen in the whole Aſſembly. His adherents and abettors expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crouding about the priſon door, and there lamenting his misfortune.

In this time of the People's affliction *Cornelius Coſſus* had a triumph for his victory over the *Volſci*. The multitude expreſſed nothing but a deep dejection on that day of joy. Some were heard to ſay, that the Dictator triumphed over a citizen, not over the enemy; that the chief ornament of the ſhow was wanting; and that to gratify the Victor's pride *Manlius* ſhould have been led before his chariot. The Senate, to ſoothe and pacify the People, decreed of their own motion to ſend a colony of *Romans* to *Satricum*, and allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this expedient proved ineffectual. So ſoon as the Dictatorſhip of *Cornelius* was expired, and the People freed from the dread of an uncontroulable Magiſtrate, the diſcontent of *Manlius*'s party began to grow into open ſedition. Some reproached the multitude in publick diſcourſes, "That it was their cuſtom to

Livy, B. 6. c. 17.

"exalt

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Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

" exalt their Protectors to high and ſlippery ſta-
" tions, and then to forſake them in the very
" moment of danger and downfal: That *Sp.*
" *Caſſius*, the firſt who propoſed *the Partition of*
" *the Lands*; that *Mælius*, who in a famine ge-
" nerouſly fed the People at his own expence;
" had both of them been abandoned and de-
" ſtroyed; and that now *Manlius*, for endea-
" vouring to free the poor debtors from ſlavery,
" was given up to his mortal enemies. It is a
" ſhame to ſee a Conſular thus treated, merely
" becauſe he did not anſwer at the nod of the
" Dictator. Suppoſe him to have invented a
" ſtory, and therefore not to have an anſwer rea-
" dy, was it ever known, that even a ſervant
" was put in irons for only telling a lye? Call to
" mind that fatal night when the *Gauls* climb'd
" up the *Tarpeian* cliff, and when *Manlius* all co-
" vered with ſweat and blood reſcued, in a man-
" ner, even *Jupiter* himſelf out of the hands of
" the enemy. Do you think that half a pound
" of meal was a ſufficient reward for the preſer-
" ver of our country? Will you ſuffer a man,
" whom you have almoſt equalled to *Jupiter*,
" by giving him the ſurname of *Capitolinus*, to
" drag on a miſerable life in a dungeon, and
" draw his breath at the pleaſure of a Jailer?
" Was one man able to preſerve all, and ſhall
" not all be able to ſuccour one?" Diſcourſes like theſe were frequently repeated, and the People ſurrounding the priſon day and night, threatened to break it open. The Senate, fearing leſt the multitude in their fury ſhould execute what they

they threatened, made a Decree for his releaſe: But they did not thereby put an end to the ſedition; they only gave the ſeditious a leader.

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Thirty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

During theſe commotions, Ambaſſadors arrived from the *Latines* and the *Hernici*, as alſo from the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, demanding releaſement of the priſoners taken in the laſt action when the Dictator *Coſſus* defeated the *Volſci*. The Ambaſſadors of the former were received (though their demand was rejected) becauſe thoſe Nations had been only allies of *Rome*; but the Ambaſſadors of the latter were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the People, becauſe thoſe cities had been upon the foot of *Roman Colonies*. The former enjoy'd their own laws; the latter were ſubject to the laws of *Rome*, and had therefore no right to ſend Ambaſſadors.

§. II. WHEN new Magiſtrates came to be elected for the next year, the Centuries choſe *Camillus* Military Tribune a fifth time; and with him they joined * *Ser. Cornelius*, † *P. Valerius*, ‖ *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and § *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius* was now much increaſed by the timorouſneſs of the Senate, and the remiſſneſs of *Coſſus* in not puniſhing him as a former Dictator had done *Mælius*. And the poor Plebeians entertained the hope, that under ſuch a leader they ſhould be able to get uſury aboliſhed. *Livy* gives us a long ſpeech (doubtleſs of his own making) as ſpoken by *Manlius*, in an aſſembly held at his houſe in the citadel. The ſubſtance of the diſcourſe is an exhortation to the

Year of ROME CCCLXX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-two.

Thirty-eighth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6, c. 18.

* A third time.

† A ſecond time.

‖ A ſecond time.

§ A ſecond time.

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Plebeians *to free themſelves from the burthen of their debts, and the tyranny of the Patricians, by exerting their natural ſuperiority of ſtrength, and aſſuming the aſcendant.—No more* Dictators—*No more* Conſuls—*I declare myſelf the* PATRON *of the* Commons *of* Rome: *My ſteady concern for their Intereſts has already fixed upon me that Title. If you are willing to beſtow a higher upon your leader, it will enable him to aſſiſt you more effectually in the accompliſhing of what you deſire.* LIVY adds, "It is ſaid, that from this time was ſet "on foot a project for reſtoring kingly power; "but it is not clearly ſaid, how far it went, nor "who were the projectors." In the debates of the Senate, alarm'd at the cabals held at a private man's houſe, a houſe too in the citadel, many of the *Fathers* declared loudly, "That the Com-"monwealth ſtood in need of another *Servilius* "*Ahala*, who by one ſtroke ſhould rid her of a "bad Citizen, and reſtore the publick ſafety and "tranquillity." And tho' the reſolution of the Aſſembly was, in *words*, more gentle, it was, in *effect*, not leſs violent: For by an order to the MILITARY TRIBUNES to *take care, that the Commonwealth ſuffered no detriment from the pernicious projects of* Marcus Manlius, they impowered them to act as *Ahala* had done. And now theſe Magiſtrates, and the *Tribunes of the Commons* (for the latter, foreſeeing that the loſs of their dignities would ſoon follow that of the publick liberty, had given themſelves wholly to the Senate) conſulted together upon the proper meaſures to be taken in the preſent exigence; and when they were

Thirty-eighth M. L. Trib.

Livy, B. 6. c. 19.

were at a loſs, no one having propoſed any better expedient than *Aſſaſſination*, which yet in all appearance would occaſion a dangerous conflict, *M. Manius* and *Q. Petilius*, both Tribunes of the Commons, ſtarted a new thought: *Why do we make that to be a ſtrife between the* SENATE *and the* COMMONS, *which ought to be a war of the whole State againſt one peſtilent Citizen? Why ſhould we* attack him united with *the Commons, when we may more ſafely* attack him by *the Commons themſelves? We purpoſe to appoint him a day to appear in judgment. Nothing is more odious to the People than royalty. And when the multitude ſhall ſee, that there is no conteſt with them; that they are made* JUDGES *in the cauſe; that the accuſers are Plebeians, the accuſed a Patrician, and the crime, charged,* aſpiring to be King; *they will unqueſtionably ſhew, that there is nothing they regard with ſo true a tenderneſs, as their liberty.*

Year of ROME CCCLXX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-two.

Thirty-eighth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 20.

This advice being unanimouſly approved, they notified to *Manlius* a day for his appearance [before an Aſſembly by Centuries.] The Plebeians were at firſt much affected to ſee him going about in a dreſs of mourning to ſollicit favour; not one Senator, nor any of his kindred, not even his brothers, *Aulus* and *Titus*, accompanying him; a thing the like to which had never happened before. Whence it is evident that there was a combination of all the *Patricians* to oppreſs him, becauſe he was the firſt of his family who had fallen off from their party to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Plebeians*.

Year of ROME CCCLXX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty two.

When the day of trial came, his accuſers charged him with holding private aſſemblies, and with ſeditious words, ill-meant liberalities, and ſlandering the Senate [with relation to the gold.] But *Livy* tells us, that he could not in any Author find what direct proofs the Tribunes brought of *Manlius*'s aſpiring to the regal power. However, he ſuppoſes, that ſufficient proofs they had, ſince nothing but the circumſtance of the place where he was tried (which was the *Campus Martius)* hindered his immediate condemnation.

Thirty-eighth Mil. Trib.

Manlius is ſaid to have produced near 40 citizens, for the payment of whoſe debts he had advanced money, without intereſt, thereby recovering their effects which had been ſeized, and keeping their perſons out of the priſons of their creditors. He produced two mural crowns [of gold] his rewards for having entered the firſt into cities taken by aſſault; eight civick crowns [of oak-leaves] for having in battle ſaved the lives of ſo many citizens, among whom *C. Servilius* (when General of the Horſe) was one; the ſpoils of thirty enemies, whom he had ſlain with his own hand in ſingle combat. He then opened his boſom, and ſhewed it covered with ſcars, left by the wounds he had received in fight. Looking often to the Capitol, he called upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, for help; and he conjured the People to turn their faces to that ſanctuary, and, when they were going to pronounce judgment, to think of the Gods who reſided there.

The

The People, touched with the humiliation and diſtreſs of a *Roman*, who by his bravery had ſaved the Republick, and having before their eyes the very place where he had fought ſo valiantly againſt the *Gauls*, could not reſolve to condemn him. The Military Tribunes plainly perceiving this, and that unleſs the multitude were removed to ſome place, whence they could not ſee the Capitol, they would never give ſentence againſt the accuſed, deferred the deciſion of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the Aſſembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*. Then the object, which had ſaved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his Judges, he was condemned to be thrown from the Capitol itſelf; and the theatre of his glory became that of his puniſhment and ſhame. Two marks of infamy are ſaid to have been fixed upon his memory; one by publick authority, the other by private. The publick decreed, that no *Patrician* ſhould thenceforward dwell in the Capitol, or the Citadel; and the *Manlian* family came to a reſolution among themſelves, that no member of it ſhould ever bear the prænomen of *Marcus*. Such (ſays *Livy*) was the end of a man who, if he had not been born in a free ſtate, would have deſerved to be remembered with honour by poſterity. The multitude very ſoon regretted the loſs of him. Their fear of his ambition being over, they remembered only his virtues: And becauſe a plague broke out at this time without any diſcernible cauſe, many of the People aſcribed it to the ſevere treatment of

Year of ROME CCCLXX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-two.

Thirty-eighth Mil. Trib.

Manlius: The CAPITOL, they ſaid, *had been polluted with the blood of its deliverer; and the Gods were offended at the execution, almoſt in their very preſence, of a man, who had reſcued their Temples out of the hands of the enemy.*

REMARKS *on the* DEATH *of* *M.* MANLIUS.

M. *Dacier* expreſſes his wonder at "the fantaſtick "humour of the *Roman* People, who [though "fully convinced of the guilt] could not prevail with "themſelves to condemn the criminal, while they had "the CAPITOL before their eyes; yet preſently after "[without any new offence by him committed] could "throw him headlong from that very CAPITOL, the "ſight of which had hindered them from condemning "him[a]."

Perhaps the reader may wonder at M. *Dacier*'s giving credit to this part of the ſtory; I mean *the Trial and Condemnation of* Manlius *by an aſſembly of the People*; I am well perſuaded that *Livy* gave no credit to it, nor to ſeveral other particulars which he has ſo pompouſly delivered concerning *Manlius*.

I. The *publick examination* (as *Livy* relates it) of MANLIUS, the year before his death, by the Dictator, *Cornelius Coſſus*, has too ſtrong a mark of fiction, to have paſſed upon *Livy* for true hiſtory. The Dictator charges

[a] Etrange bizarrerie du Peuple! il ne peut ſe reſoudre à condamner Manlius à la vuë du Capitole, et un moment après il le precipite de ce meme Capitole, dont la vuë l'avoit empeché de le condamner. *Dac. Plut. Vie* de *Cam.*

Man-

Manlius with having ſlanderouſly [b] accuſed the principal Senators of *ſecreting the gold that was ſnatched* [*by* Camillus] *out of the hands of the* Gauls. And *Manlius* is repreſented as making no difficulty to own, that he had ſo accuſed them, and that he believes them guilty. Now it is abſolutely incredible, that *Manlius* charged the Senators with ſecreting what every *Roman*, then living, knew with *certainty* to have been carried away by the *Gauls* [c]; for that the *Gauls*, when they marched off, did not go without the ranſom-Gold, is made indiſputable by *Polybius*'s account; which account *Livy* had before him, though he takes no notice of it. Vid ſupr. P. 447.

Indeed *the ſaving of this gold* is a point, with which the *Latine* Hiſtorian ſeems to have been much perplexed,

[b] ——— ſermones pleni criminum in patres: inter quos—theſauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus jecit: nec jam poſſidendis publicis agris contentos eſſe, niſi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant. Ea res ſi palam fiat, exolvi plebem ære alieno poſſe — indignum facinus videri, quum conferendum ad redimendam civitatem à Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo collationem factam *idem aurum ex hoſtibus captum* in paucorum prædam ceſſiſſe. L. 6. c. 14.

Spem factam à te civitati video, fide incolumi, ex *theſauris Gallicis*, quos primores Patrum occultent creditum ſolvi poſſe, c. 15.

[c] *N. B.* It is not improbable, that *Manlius* did accuſe the principal Senators, and *Camillus*, among the reſt, not falſly but truly, of embezzling (not the gold weighed out for the *Gauls*, and which the *Gauls* carried off, but) what *remained* of the treaſure, which the Magiſtrates had amaſſed from voluntary contribution, after their paying the ſum agreed upon for their ranſom. That they were guilty of fraudulent purpoſes with regard to that remaining treaſure, *Livy* furniſhes ground to believe, by what he ſays of their ſcrupulous caſuiſtry, and of the reaſons they found for not parting with the gold, they had got into their poſſeſſion. And it is very poſſible, that this gold, properly applied, might have gone a great way towards diſcharging the debts of the poor *Plebeians*, as *Manlius* is reported to have ſaid.

ſaved it muſt be; becauſe it was not fit that ſuch a majeſtick People as the *Romans* ſhould be redeemed like ſo many paltry ſlaves. Diique et homines prohibuere *redemptos* vivere ROMANOS. Nam forte quadam, prius quam *infanda Merces* perficeretur—Dictator intervenit, &c. *Lib.* 5. c. 49.

Well, but what became of this gold, ſo fortunately preſerved? Why truly, both *this* (which, in order to avoid a profane uſe of ſacred treaſures, had been collected from the women) and *other gold*, that in the fright and hurry had been taken out of ſeveral ſanctuaries and brought into the ſanctuary of *Jupiter*, were depoſited under the pedeſtal of *Jupiter's* ſtatue.

But why, when all was ſafe and quiet, were not the women's ornaments reſtored to them? and why were not the other parcels of gold replaced in the reſpective ſanctuaries to which they belonged? The reaſon was, it could not be diſtinctly remembered from *whence* and from *whom* the ſeveral parts of the treaſure came; ſo it was thought beſt, that *the whole* ſhould be deemed *conſecrated to the Gods.* [As if the prieſts could not diſtinguiſh the gold of their reſpective temples, nor the women their own trinkets] The women, it ſeems, in reward of their virtue received publick thanks; to which the publick added an honour. Inſtead of reſtoring to them the fineries of their dreſs, it was decreed, that they ſhould have fine things ſaid of them at their funerals, as the men had[a].

THAT

[a] Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat, quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Jovis cellam collatum, quum, in quæ referri oporteret, confuſa memoria eſſet, ſacrum omne judicatum, ſub Jovis ſella poni juſſum. Jam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quod, quum in publico deeſſet aurum, ex quo ſumma pacta mercedis Gallis conficeret, a matronis collatum acceperant, ut auro ſacro abſtineretur. Matronis gratiæ actæ, honoſque additus, ut earum, ſicut virorum, poſt mortem ſolennis laudatio eſſet. Lib. 5. c. 50.

Plu-

THAT MANLIUS *was convicted before the People,* II.
aſſembled by centuries, of attempting to make himſelf King of Rome; *and that the People condemned him, as guilty of that crime, to be thrown from the* Tarpeian *Rock*; are facts which ſeem to be as little worthy of belief, as that he accuſed the Senators of ſecreting gold, ſnatched [by *Camillus*] out of the hands of the *Gauls*.

1. For, firſt of all, *Livy* tells us that he could not in any author find what *direct* proofs the accuſers of *Manlius* brought, of his plotting to be King. *Crouds of people about him*; *ſeditious words*; *ill-meant liberalities* [largitio]; *ſlandering the Senate in relation to the gold* [fallax Indicium;] theſe were all the particulars mentioned by thoſe writers from whom *Livy* borrowed his accounts: Yet our Hiſtorian *ſuppoſes*, that weighty matters were proved againſt him, becauſe [it is ſaid] the ſentence was deferred, not on account of any want of evidence, but merely on account of the place where the criminal was tried [b] [the field of *Mars*, whence the CAPITOL could be ſeen:] That is to ſay, IF *Manlius* was certainly tried by the People, and *if* ſentence

Plutarch reports that the privilege granted to the women of having funeral orations was in reward of their giving [he ſhould have ſaid *lending*] their ornaments to make a vaſe, to be ſent to *Delphos*, in diſcharge of *Camillus*'s vow, when he was juſt going to the aſſault of *Veii*.

[b] Quum dies venit, quæ, præter cœtus multitudinis, ſeditioſaſque voces, et largitionem, et fallax indicium, pertinentia propriè ad regni crimen, ab accuſatoribus objecta ſint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio. Nec dubito haud parva eſſe, quum damnandi mora plebi non in cauſa, ſed in loco fuerit. C. 20.

N. B. *Manlius*'s liberalities to the poor are ſaid to have been *urged againſt him* as indications of his inordinate ambition. And he, *in his defence*, is ſaid to have produced 400 citizens, to whom he had advanced money, without intereſt, to prevent their falling into the cruel hands of their creditors.

againſt

againſt him was deferred on account only of the place where he was tried, *then* it is probable, there was ſufficient proof of his guilt. But preſently after,

2. Our Hiſtorian lets us know that he is not quite ſure that *Manlius* was tried and condemned by the People: For, after ſpeaking of their paſſing ſentence againſt him, contrary to their inclination, even when they were in a place from whence the Capitol could not be ſeen, he adds; *ſome report that he was condemned by Duumvirs, created to inquire into his Treaſon.* Sunt qui per Duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirerent creatos, auctores ſint damnatum.

3. As *Livy* by theſe laſt words diſcovers, that he did not know certainly before what court *Manlius* was tried; ſo, by what he ſays in the preceding chapter, he ſeems to allow his reader to believe, that the ſuppoſed criminal was never brought to trial before any court whatſoever, but was cut off by an act of mere violence, an act of that abſolute power with which the Senate had inveſted CAMILLUS and the other Military Tribunes, on purpoſe to deſtroy him. I ſay, *Livy* ſeems to intimate this, when he tells us, that the Senate's giving that extraordinary power to the magiſtrates amounted to the ſame thing as a reſolution to diſpatch *Manlius* (as *Ahala* had diſpatched *Mælius*) without any previous form of proceſs [a].

That they deſtroyed *Manlius*, by caſting him down from the *Tarpeian Rock*, may be eaſily believed, though we ſuppoſe no publick ſentence to have paſſed againſt him, ſpecifying that puniſhment; becauſe his houſe, where, it is probable, the officers of the magiſtrates

[a] Magna pars [Senatûs] vociferantur *Servilio Ahala* opus eſſe qui non in vincula duci jubendo irritet publicum hoſtem, ſed unius jacturâ civis finiat inteſtinum bellum. *Decurritur ad leniorem verbis ſententiam, vim tamen eamdem habentem: ut videant Magiſtratus, ne quid ex perniciosis conſiliis* M. Manlii *reſpublica detrimenti capiat.* Lib. 6. c. 19.

ſeized

ſeized him, ſtood in the citadel, and therefore very near to that rock.

4. To the arguments, above offered, againſt the pretended trial and condemnation of *Manlius*, for plotting to be King, may be added *the great unlikelihood*, that any *Roman*, not out of his ſenſes, would, in thoſe times, furniſh even the ſmalleſt ground for ſuſpecting him of ſuch a plot. Is it not, in the higheſt degree, improbable, that *Manlius* ſhould hope to raiſe himſelf to a regal throne, by the help of a populace, whom he could not but know to have an hereditary and inſuperable averſion to the very names of *King* and *Kingdom*: inſomuch, that the *ambition of reigning* [cupiditas regni] was, with them, the moſt unpardonable of all crimes; and for which no kind nor degree of merit could atone? *Livy*, on the preſent occaſion, (as on ſeveral others) intimates this to have been the temper and turn of the *Roman People*. Illud notandum videtur, ut ſciant homines, quæ et quanta decora fœda *cupiditas regni*, non ingrata ſolùm, ſed inviſa etiam reddiderit, c. 20: and then enumerates the worthy actions and heroick exploits of *Manlius*. [See what has been ſaid on this head in the cloſe of Chap. XIV. B. 2.]

BUT if *Manlius* was not guilty of deſigns againſt the LIBERTY of his Country, nor of ſlandering the Senators, what was it that made them ſo unanimouſly combine to deſtroy him? I anſwer; *His* ſingular *merit*, *his honeſt zeal for the* LIBERTY *of his fellow-citizens the poor* Plebeian *debtors*, *continually expoſed to become ſlaves to their mercileſs* Patrician *creditors*; [Conſenſu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defeciſſet.] *His reproaching the Nobles ſeverely in* words, *and more ſeverely by his* example, *with their rapaciouſneſs, avarice, and oppreſſive uſury*; *and his urging them to do*, freely *and from* virtue, *what a few years after, they were* conſtrained *to do by an act of the legiſlature, an act* paſſed *by the* Tribes, *in ſpite of the moſt vigorous* Livy, B. 6. c. 20.

gorous oppoſition from the Senate, aided by CAMILLUS, *then* Dictator, *and by a majority* (which the Senate had gained over to them) *of the* Tribunes of the Commons: I mean *that* LAW, *which*, to relieve the debtors, *deducted from the principal debt whatever ſums had been paid for intereſt.* It was but ſeven years after the death of *Manlius*, that LICINIUS STOLO propoſed that LAW: which, with two other Laws, he, after a ten years ſtruggle, prevailed to have enacted; much to the benefit of the Commonwealth, as will be ſeen in the ſequel of the ſtory. Whatever appearance of injuſtice it may have, to make a law on purpoſe to hinder thoſe, who have fairly lent their money, from exacting what by contract is *legally* due to them from the borrowers; ſuch a law was abſolutely neceſſary at this time, in order to preſerve to the Commons of *Rome* any appearance of freedom. And the very paſſing of this law, notwithſtanding ſo mighty an oppoſition made to it, is alone a cogent proof, that the oppreſſion which they ſuffered was exceſſive, and the diſtemper of the ſtate ſuch as required extraordinary and violent remedies. If we conſider the words with which *Livy* furniſhes the Centurion *, (whom *Manlius* delivered out of the hands of his creditor) and the ſpeech of *Manlius* †, to the Dictator *Cornelius Coſſus*, we ſhall have a juſt idea of the miſerable condition of the Commons, and of the relief propoſed by their brave and generous advocate. For it is evident (as the reader will find) from the following parts of *Livy*'s narrative, that he does not make the two ſpeakers exaggerate the grievances of the Commons, or make them ſay more than was ſtrictly true concerning the cruel oppreſſion which the poor debtors laboured under: And the very remedy propoſed by *Manlius* was one of thoſe remedies that, very ſoon after, were by the legiſlature judged neceſſary to be employed.

* See p. 456.
† See p. 458.

LIVY

LIVY and PLUTARCH repreſent the *zeal* of *Manlius* in behalf of the debtors, as having its ſource in *envy* and *anger*, envy to CAMILLUS, and anger againſt the SENATE for preferring that rival before him to govern the State and command the army. Doubtleſs in the year 369, when *Manlius*'s popularity is ſaid to have alarmed the Senate, he had juſt cauſe to think himſelf unworthily and injuriouſly neglected by them. But that THIS NEGLECT of him was not the CAUSE, but the EFFECT of his ZEAL for the poor debtors, will I think appear from the following conſiderations.

A braver ſoldier than *Marcus Manlius* the *Roman* State had never produced. The Military rewards which he received from the Generals, under whom he ſerved, are an inconteſtable proof of it; and in the year 361, *two years before* his moſt celebrated exploit of *ſaving the Capitol*, he had been honoured with the Conſulſhip. And yet *after* that important ſervice (in 363) we never ſee him in any magiſtracy whatſoever. How ſhall we account for this? It may eaſily be granted, that CAMILLUS was ſuperior, in abilities, to *Manlius*, and to every other *Roman* of that time, for *the conduct of an army*; and this may furniſh a plauſible reaſon, why the Senate, in preſſing and extraordinary exigencies, had recourſe to thoſe abilities. But ſince no leſs than ſix perſons were every year choſen to the Military Tribuneſhip (except in the year 364, when the Senate continued *Camillus* in the Dictatorſhip, that he might hinder the people from removing to *Veii*) and ſince there had been five elections in the time between the *Gauls* departure and the commotion occaſioned by the generoſity of *Manlius* in 369, how came it to paſs, that a *Patrician* of ſuch high birth, a hero ſo applauded and extolled at the time of the ſiege, was never after appointed to be one of the ſix governing magiſtrates? His brother, *Aulus Manlius*, who had no merit (that we read of) to recommend him, was nevertheleſs a Military Tribune in the year 365, and again in

in 369, the very year in which the Senate created *Cornelius Coſſus* Dictator to quell the commotion raiſed by the liberality of *Marcus*

May we not fairly gather from this uninterrupted excluſion of *Marcus* from the Magiſtracy after the rebuilding of the city, that he began about that time to diſoblige *Camillus*, and the other Oligarchs; and that their diſcontent with him was on account of his compaſſionate concern, warmly expreſſed, for the poor *Plebeians*, loaded with debt, and who had lately *increaſed the burthen by borrowing money to build their houſes*, as *Livy* informs us?

It ought here to be remarked, that the neceſſity of borrowing money to *build* was a neceſſity to which they were ſubjected, merely by the Senate's refuſing to let them remove to *Veii*; which removal, after *the total deſtruction* of Rome by the *Gauls*, would in all appearance have been a very reaſonable meaſure: But it would not have been conſiſtent with the views of the Oligarchs, who were bent upon making to themſelves immenſe eſtates out of the newly conquered *Veientan* territory.

It is not indeed unlikely, that MANLIUS (who unqueſtionably ſaved the Capitol) was diſcontented to ſee *Camillus* (who unqueſtionably did not drive away the *Gauls* and ſave the gold) ſo diſtinguiſhed by the Senate, as if he alone was qualified to command an army. And *Manlius* might with the more reaſon be diſſatisfied, as he knew, that *Camillus*'s chief merit with the *Fathers* was not his *military ſkill*, but his ſkill and inclination to keep the *Plebeians* in extreme indigence, and thereby in a ſtate of ſervitude to the *Patrician* uſurers. *Livy*, though he ſeems to have made it a rule to himſelf, always to ſpeak reſpectfully of the Senate, yet tells us, "that when the election of Military Tribunes, for the "year 354, was coming on, the attention of the *Fa*"*thers* to that affair and their concern for the event "were

" were very near being greater than their care about " the war[a]:" And yet the *Romans* were at that time engaged in the important ſiege of *Veii:* And he likewiſe tells us, " That the Senate, when, in the year 359, " by uſing their utmoſt efforts, they got *Camillus* into " the Military Tribuneſhip, *pretended*, that it was to " provide the Republick with an able General, but that " their *real motive* was to provide themſelves with a ma- " giſtrate, who would oppoſe the Tribunes bill for a " diſtribution of the publick lands[b]:" So that *Manlius*, who was as compaſſionate and generous as he was brave, needed not the incitement of ambition or envy to make him diſpleaſed with the Senate's throwing ſo much power into the hands of a man, whoſe temper and character made him very unfit to be at the helm of a free ſtate.

Juſt reaſons unqueſtionably there were, why CAMILLUS, though an exile on account of male-adminiſtration, was by an act of Senate and People recalled from baniſhment and created Dictator in the year 363, when the *Gauls* inveſted the Capitol: But the reaſonableneſs of continuing him in the Dictatorſhip throughout the year 364 may very well be queſtioned. For it is not evident, that, in this unprecedented ſtep, they had any view to the good of the publick; and it is plain beyond a doubt, that they had a view to their private intereſts: That by the means of *Camillus*, inveſted with the terrors of abſolute power, they purpoſed to keep the People at a diſtance from *Veii*, and thereby to hinder them from having their juſt ſhare of the conquered lands, and likewiſe from ſeeing how ſhamefully the Oligarchs made themſelves rich by robbing the commonwealth. For

[a] Jam Comitia Tribunorum Militum aderant, quorum prope major Patribus, quam belli cura erat. L. 5. c. 14.

[b] Comitiis Tribunorum Militum patres ſumma ope evicerant, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella ſimulabant parari ducem, ſed largitioni tribuniciæ adverſarius quærebatur. L. 5. c. 26.

that

that theſe were their principal objects appears from the whole thread of the hiſtory of theſe times.

Vid. ſupr. P. 435.

We have ſeen that the Fathers, when in the year 360, by tears and intreaties and talking much about religion, they had prevailed to have the [very unreaſonable] bill, *for dividing the Senate and People between* Rome *and* Veii, rejected, were in ſuch joy for their victory, that, the next morning, they paſſed a decree for aſſigning to every freeman of *Rome* ſeven acres of the lands of *Veii*. Doubtleſs this decree, though repreſented by *Livy* as an act of voluntary bounty, when joy had opened and dilated the hearts of the Senators (not apt to ſuch effuſion of goodneſs) was made in performance of a promiſe, by which they had gained a majority of the Tribes to vote againſt the bill in queſtion. And there is ſome reaſon to doubt, whether they ever put the decree in execution. And, if they did, it would ſeem, that they very ſoon got the land back again out of the hands of the poor *Plebeians*, and probably * in ſatisfaction of intereſt for money they had lent to thoſe *Plebeians*. For *Livy* introduces one of the Tribunes, in that long conteſt which began about thirteen years after this notable bounty, expoſtulating with the principal Senators, *How they could have the confidence to deſire that every one of* them *might be allowed to poſſeſs more than* 500 *acres of land, while no more than* TWO *acres was allowed to each* Plebeian [a]?

*Vid. ſupr. P. 435.

[a] Auderentne poſtulare, ut quum bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipſis plus quingenta jugera habere liceret? Ut ſinguli prope trecentorum civium poſſiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum neceſſarium, aut locum ſepulturæ, ſuus pateret ager? *Liv.* L. 6. c. 36.

And in lib. 6. c. 21. *Livy* informs us, that the Senate (in the year 371, juſt after the murder of *Manlius*) to engage the People's conſent to a declaration of war, paſſed a Decree *for dividing the Pomptin Territory among them.* Yet we do not find, that this was done till many years after the Decree.

To

To return to CAMILLUS: He was again created Dictator in 365; and Military Tribune (for the fourth time) in 368, and again in 370, and inveſted with abſolute power, purpoſely to deſtroy MANLIUS. Though *Camillus* had five Collegues, *Plutarch* repreſents him as principal in the proſecution, and as the Magiſtrate who removed the Aſſembly to a place whence the Capitol could not be ſeen: Which makes M. *Dacier* aſk, "But why "was *Camillus* ſo eager to get *Manlius* condemned, a "perſon of ſuch eminent merit, and who had ſerved ſo "well? Why did he not leave that melancholy honour "to his Collegues?" He adds, "*Livy*, to avoid throwing all the odium of the action upon *Camillus* alone, "ſays, *That the* [*Military*] *Tribunes, perceiving the effect "which the ſight of the Capitol produced* [b], &c."

M. *Dacier* might have found perhaps a ſatisfactory anſwer to his queſtion, if he had attended to what *Plutarch* ſays in his compariſon of *Camillus* with *Themiſtocles*. The biographer, though he ſometimes extols the *Roman* hero to the ſkies, yet leaves it doubtful, "Whether it "was the love of liberty and of his country, that made "him proſecute *Manlius* to death, or whether his hatred to *Manlius* was not owing to a ſecret jealouſy of "a rival, illuſtrious by many noble exploits, and eſpecially by that of ſaving the *Capitol*; whence he acquired the ſurname of *Capitolinus*."

But, without having recourſe either to *Amor Patriæ*, or to any *ſuppoſed jealouſy* of a rival for military Glory, it would ſeem that we may well account for *Camillus*'s being the chief actor in the deſtruction of *Manlius*. This humane, generous, noble-ſpirited hero, by his civil and

[b] Mais pour quoi *Camillus* pourſuivoit-il avec tant d'ardeur la condamnation de Manlius, d'un homme de ce merite & qui avoit ſi bien ſervi? Que ne cedoit il ce triſte honneur à ſes collegues? Auſſi *Tite Live*, pour ne pas faire tomber toute la haine de cette action ſur Camillus ſeul, dit, *Que les Tribuns s'etant appercu des l'effet que cette vuë produiſoit, &c.*

ſocial virtues, reproached, eclipſed, and diſhonoured the invincible *Camillus*; and, by patroniſing the cauſe of the diſtreſſed *Plebeians*, oppoſed the gratification of his (ſeemingly *ruling* paſſion) avarice.

Dr. Midd. Pref. to Life of Cicero, p. xvi.

A late celebrated author obſerves, "That the writers "of *particular lives* are apt to be partial and prejudiced in "favour of their ſubject, and to give us a *Panegyrick*, in-"ſtead of a *Hiſtory*" — and that "this ſeems to flow "from the nature of the thing itſelf, where the very in-"clination to write is generally grounded in prepoſ-"ſeſſion, and an affection already contracted for the "perſon whoſe hiſtory we are attempting; and when "we ſit down with the diſpoſition of a friend, it is na-"tural for us to caſt a ſhade over his failings, and to "give the ſtrongeſt colourings to his virtues."

Perhaps there is not a more ſtriking inſtance of the truth of what is here ſaid, than PLUTARCH's *Life of* CAMILLUS. It abounds with indications of an extreme partiality. He extols the only *good* action *(recorded)* of his hero, greatly beyond its merit; and diſcovers a moſt friendly diſpoſition to believe, that he never did any thing wrong.

Certainly it required no extraordinary elevation of ſoul, nor any thing beyond common prudence and policy, and a moderate ſenſe of honour, to act as *Camillus* did, with relation to the ſchool-maſter of *Falerii*. It was one of thoſe parts of conduct, the performance of which does not render a man ſo praiſe-worthy as the non-performance of them renders him infamous. Yet from *Plutarch*'s admiration of the deed, one would imagine it to be ſomething ſo glorious as not to be looked at without having the eyes of our minds dazzled with its brightneſs.

Vid. ſupr. p. 429.

CAMILLUS was, by the *Roman* People, thought guilty of *impious vanity*, when with his *face painted red*, and in a chariot drawn by *white horſes*, he rode in triumph for the conqueſt of VEII. What ſays our biographer

to this? Why truly he is of opinion, "That we may "reaſonably preſume, the Gods would not have ſhow-"ered down ſo many favours upon *Camillus*, if he had "really offended them by any impiety."

But did not *Camillus* embezzle and appropriate to his private uſe ſome of the wealth belonging to the publick? Of this he was accuſed; and he was cited to appear in judgment before the People to anſwer the charge. Neither the principal men of his Tribe, nor his *Clients* (which, ſays [a] *Livy*, made a conſiderable part of the *Commons*) nor (according to *Plutarch*) his *Collegues* heretofore in office, nor his *Friends*, when all were aſſembled to conſider of his caſe, would give him any hopes of eſcaping condemnation: So, to avoid a trial, he ran away, curſing his countrymen. One would naturally conclude from theſe particulars, that he was guilty. No, ſays *Plutarch*, "the Gods declared him innocent, by "bringing the *Gauls* againſt *Rome* to revenge his cauſe, "and puniſh the *Romans* for their unjuſt treatment of "him."

And the biographer will have it "that he was baniſh-"ed for his ſteady oppoſition to the BILL *for removing* "*half of the Senate and People to* VEII;" which Bill (if we may credit *Livy*) the people themſelves, moved by the intreaties of the Senators [and probably more moved by a promiſe of ſeven acres of the lands of *Veii* to each of them] had rejected three years before this proſecution.

Indeed it is highly probable, that, long before the impeachment of *Camillus*, the greater part of the *Ple-*

[a] —— M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui die dictâ ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis, propter prædam Veientanam, filio quoque adoleſcente per idem tempus orbatus, quum accitis domum tribulibus, et clientibus, quæ magna pars plebis erat, percunctatus animos eorum reſponſum tuliſſet, *Se collaturos quanti damnatus eſſet, abſolvere eum non poſſe*, in exſilium abiit. L. 5. c. 32.

beians had received impreſſions much to his diſadvantage: For the whole ſeries of his conduct towards the Commons appears, even from the accounts given of it by his Panegyriſts, to have been baſe and deteſtable; ſo baſe, that one may reaſonably wonder how it could happen, that *Camillus* ſhould be ſuch a favourite character as he certainly is with moſt readers of ancient hiſtory. However, this may perhaps be ſufficiently accounted for by the ſame reflections which the ingenious writer, before quoted, makes on another occaſion.

Midd. Life of Cicero, Pref. p. xvii.

"Among the celebrated names of antiquity, thoſe "of the great conquerors and generals attract our ad- "miration always the moſt, and imprint a notion of "magnanimity, and power, and capacity for dominion, "ſuperior to that of other mortals:—theſe are the only "perſons who are thought to ſhine in hiſtory, or to me- "rit the attention of the reader: dazzled with the "ſplendor of their victories, and the pomp of their tri- "umphs, we conſider them as the pride and ornament "of the *Roman* name; while the pacifick and civil cha- "racter, tho' of all others the moſt beneficial to man- "kind, whoſe ſole ambition is to ſupport the laws, the "rights and liberty of his citizens, is looked upon as "humble and contemptible on the compariſon, for be- "ing forced to truckle to the power of theſe oppreſ- "ſors of their country."

That *Camillus* was ſuperior in military ſkill to all his cotemporaries, and that he did important ſervice to his country by many victories [a] in the field, is not to be diſputed. But when we have granted thus much, what is there more to ſay in his praiſe? How ſcandalous an

[a] *Plutarch*, in comparing the exploits of *Camillus* with thoſe of *Themiſtocles*, intimates that there is ſo much of *ſurprize*, and of the *Merveilleux* ſpread over the actions of the *Roman*, as make them fitter ſubjects for painters and poets than for hiſtorians.

appear-

appearance does he make as a citizen, a member of a Republick erected on the principles of Liberty?

1. He is reported to have vowed the tenth of the ſpoil of VEII to APOLLO, in caſe the *Romans* ſhould become maſters of the place.

LIVY ſays, that *Camillus* made this vow juſt before he aſſailed the walls: According to PLUTARCH, it was before he ſet out from *Rome* to go to the ſiege: And it ſeems moſt probable from the ſequel of the ſtory, that neither before nor after he left *Rome*, did he ever act ſo ſenſeleſs a part: But that when he and the Senate, thinking that the poor ſoldiers had got too rich a reward of their labours (during a ten years ſiege) wanted to rob them of part of it, he then falſly pretended to have made the vow in queſtion. For ſhould we grant, that the general of a *Roman* army might, from certain religious preposſeſſions, without being out of his ſenſes, really intend to make a preſent of a tenth part of the wealth of *Veii* (the richeſt city of *Tuſcany*) to the *Grecian* Prieſts of *Apollo* at *Delphi*; I ſay, ſuppoſing this, How came it, that *Camillus* did not in due time, and before the booty was carried off, acquaint the ſoldiers with his act of devotion? Why truly, He had forgot it; *the worſt*, ſays *Plutarch*, *and the moſt ridiculous of all excuſes.* The ſoldiers, nevertheleſs, threatened with the anger of the Gods, payed into the publick ſtock the value of a tenth of what they had brought home.

Vid. ſupr. p. 430.

2. Fraud and impoſture ſucceeding ſo well, a new trial of it is made the next year. The poor citizens being many of them eagerly bent on removing to VEII, that they may get a reaſonable ſhare of the lands belonging to it, *Camillus*, to throw a religious obſtacle in their way, is pleaſed then to have a new ſcruple: He recalls to mind, that his vow to *Apollo* had comprehended, not only the *moveables*, but the *city* of *Veii*, and all its *territory*. The

Vid. ſupr. p. 431.

Senate [b] have tender conſciences, and therefore refer this nice caſe to the Pontifices, the Caſuiſts of the State. Theſe having diſcourſed with *Camillus*, and informed themſelves ſatisfactorily of his *Intention* when he made the vow, are clear in opinion, that *Apollo* muſt have the tenth of whatever had, before the vow, *belonged to the* VEIENTES, and had, ſince the vow, *fallen into the power of the* ROMANS. [Not a word however of the money raiſed by the ſale of the captives, and tranſmitted to the publick treaſury (that is to ſay, tranſmitted to *Rome* for the uſe of the leading men of the Senate:) For though the *perſons* of the VEIENTES *had fallen into the power of the* Romans, yet the Caſuiſts, it is likely, might hold that, the *perſons* of the VEIENTES being the *Veientes* themſelves, they could not properly be ſaid *to belong to the* Veientes, and ſo were not comprehended within the vow.] Well but how ſhall *Apollo* get his due? The tenth of the houſes and lands of *Veii* cannot be ſent to *Delphi*. *Camillus* and his aſſociates have an eaſy expedient for this. They get the town and territory *appraiſed*, and they pay out of the publick treaſury, into their own hands, the tenth of the value; that they may buy gold to make a cup for *Apollo*. [The God was to have had a cup, before the appraiſement, and he gets nothing more now: No; but the Senate find their account in this tranſaction. For the publick having purchaſed, of the God, his tenth of the city and lands of *Veii*, and this tenth not being divided from the reſt, it is become impracticable for the people to put their

Vid. ſupr. p. 428.

[b] Quum ea diſceptatio anceps ſenatui viſa, delegata ad pontifices eſſet, adhibito Camillo, viſum collegio, quod ejus ante conceptum votum Veientium fuiſſet, & poſt votum in poteſtatem populi Romani veniſſet, ejus partem decimam Apollini ſacram eſſe. Ita in æſtimationem urbs agerque venit: pecunia e ærario prompta, et tribunis militum conſularibus, ut aurum ex ea coëmerent, negotium datum. L. 5. c. 25.

pro-

project in execution, till the Senate shall think proper to ascertain and set out the particular houses and lands that belong to the publick, in virtue of the late purchase.]

Livy exhibits to his reader this whole scene of oppression, knavery, and religious imposture, and makes *Camillus* the principal actor in all: And yet speaks of him as the glory of *Rome* at this time, and the envy of *M. Manlius.*

On the other hand, though the historian (wanting proof) *first supposes* Marcus Manlius to have been actuated by pride, envy, and ambition, and *then invents* for him words and discourse, such as a man, under the influence of those passions, might possibly utter, yet it is to be remarked, that he mentions not any one thing as *certainly done by Manlius*, but what is praise-worthy.

And from these observations one would be inclined to think, that the oldest *traditions*, and perhaps the first *written accounts* concerning the transactions of those times were all favourable to *Manlius*, and much to the disadvantage of the Senate and *Camillus:* But that the later historians (and Livy in particular) who on many occasions do evidently consult the glory of the *Romans*, and especially of the Senate, more than truth, perceiving plainly, that, in the minds of strangers and of posterity, the venerable *Fathers* and *Optimates* of those days would be much disgraced, if it remain'd an establish'd point of history, *That an eminent* Patrician, *a man distinguished for his bravery, and gallant exploits, and who had done essential service to the State, was assassinated by* them, only because *he impoverished himself to relieve poor debtors, and warmly declaimed against excessive usury*; the later historians, I say, to cover, in part, the infamous conduct of *Camillus* and the *Patrician* faction, thought it convenient to suppose (without evidence) the truth of what that faction imputed to *Manlius*, when they had determined to cut him off. Accordingly those writers have reported, that in

all probability *Manlius* (otherwiſe a *Roman* of eminent virtue) was ſeized with the *Cupiditas Regni* [a], and endeavoured to make himſelf king of *Rome*. Of this charge againſt him *Livy* confeſſes that he found no proof, except his *good deeds*, (his liberalities) and ſome *ſeditious* diſcourſe, that is to ſay, ſome diſcourſe againſt *exorbitant uſury*, *cruelty to inſolvent debtors*, and *robbing the publick*; of all which the chief men of the Senate were notoriouſly guilty: For it is to be obſerved, that, with LIVY, *ſedition* frequently ſignifies nothing more than oppoſition to the deſires and meaſures of the Senate.

If it be granted (as ſurely it will) that in order to form juſt ideas of the merit or demerit of thoſe men who make the principal figures in hiſtory, we muſt attend chiefly to what they *did*, and not to the *characters* given of them by their hiſtorians, *M. Manlius Capitolinus* will, I think, appear to have been an honeſt benevolent, generous, open-hearted, brave ſoldier, a friend to juſt liberty; the invincible *M. Furius Camillus*, a vain, hypocritical, avaricious robber of the publick, the champion of tyrannical uſurers, and the murderer of the beſt man in the Commonwealth. Always a hero in the field, always an oppreſſor in the city, he oppoſed for ten years together the enacting of thoſe LAWS, to the execution of which, when enacted, were owing the *liberty*, the *virtue*, the *glory*, and the *empire* of the *Romans* [b]. I mean

[a] The ſame diſtemper had, with equal truth, been imputed to *Spurius Caſſius* *, and in after times was imputed to *Tiberius Gracchus* and his brother *Caius*. This ſtratagem of the Senate, when they wanted to deſtroy an adverſary by the hands of the *Roman* people, was ſomewhat like pointing out to our populace a man, as bit by a mad dog, and incurable, and whom it is neceſſary to deſtroy in order to prevent miſchief. The latter is not ſo malicious, becauſe not ſo certainly fatal, as was the other.

* Vid. ſupr. p. 254, & ſeq.

[b] In the introduction to the fourth book of this hiſtory, the reader will find ſome reflections on the excellency of theſe laws;

mean the laws propoſed by *Licinius Stolo*, in the year 377, and paſſed by the Tribes in 386. A writer, on no occaſion partial to the *Tribunes of the Commons*, tells us, that "they never left teizing the Senate with freſh demands, till they had laid open to the *Plebeian* families a promiſcuous right to all the magiſtracies of the Republick, and by that means a free admiſſion into the Senate." He adds, "*Thus far they were certainly in the right and acted like true patriots; and after many ſharp conteſts had now brought the government of* Rome *to its perfect State*; when its honours were no longer confined to particular families, but propoſed equally and indifferently to every citizen; who by his virtue and ſervices, either in war or peace, could recommend himſelf to the notice and favour of his countrymen." To hinder this improvement of the conſtitution, and to keep the *Plebeians* in a ſlaviſh dependance on inſatiable *Patrician* uſurers, were the chief objects of the care of the great *Camillus*, in his old age. Created Dictator by the Senate (in the year 385) for no other end, but that he might abuſe the power annex'd to that office, he (to anſwer the purpoſe of his creation) by menaces, and by his lictors, drove the people from the Forum, when they were going to enact the moſt excellent Laws. The two Tribunes, however, not diſmayed hereby, and knowing his weak ſide, quickly frightened him, by an attack there, into an abdication of his Dictatorſhip. *Plutarch* ſpeaks only of their *threatening* him with *a heavy fine*; but *Livy* tells [b] us, that,

Dr. Midd. Pref. to Life of Cicero, p. xxxvii.

laws; and he may find the ſame reflections inſerted in the preliminary diſcourſe of the ingenious author of the new tranſlation of *Cæſar*'s Commentaries.

[b] — re neutrò inclinatâ magiſtratu ſe abdicavit: ſeu quia vitio creatus erat, ut ſcripſere quidam; ſeu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem, idque plebes ſcivit, ut ſi *M. Furius* pro dictatore quid egiſſet, quingentûm millium [æris] ei mulcta eſſet. L. 6. c. 38.

according

according to ſome writers, the Tribunes *actually got a Law paſſed by the Commons, ſubjecting him to that heavy fine,* in caſe he interpoſed his authority of Dictator, to hinder the proceedings of the Comitia. Be that as it will, *Camillus*, after mention of *the fine*, ſuddenly laid down his ſovereign magiſtracy, under pretence, ſays *Plutarch*, of bodily indiſpoſition. The *Latine* hiſtorian, very unwilling to believe that the Hero retreated through *fear*, gives four or five reaſons againſt that opinion; and is inclined to think, that he quitted his poſt out of a religious ſcruple, relating to ſome newly diſcovered defect in the ceremony of his inauguration: But if *the love of riches* was the Hero's ruling paſſion, as it ſeems to have been, this will furniſh a ſufficient anſwer to twenty better reaſons than *Livy* has produced; and, by the account which *Plutarch* gives of the inſult offered to the Hero the next year when he was again Dictator, and of the meek part he then acted, it appears (if the ſtory be true; for *Livy* ſays nothing of it) that the Tribunes, by threatening to make him *pay*, had totally ſubdued his ſpirit.

I conclude from the whole of theſe Remarks, that MANLIUS, innocent of all deſigns againſt the liberty of his country, fell a ſacrifice to the avarice and ambition of CAMILLUS, and the other Oligarchs, his aſſociates in oppreſſive iniquities.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *During the ſix following years and the beginning of the ſeventh* Rome *is almoſt intirely free from civil diſſenſions; but wars are carried on abroad againſt the* Prænestini *and* Volſci *with very little interruption.* Camillus *being one of the* Military Tribunes *in the year* 373, *gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when diſreſpectfully treated by one of his Collegues.*

Year of ROME CCCLXXI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-one.

*AULUS*MANLIUS* [probably an infamous uſurer, and for that reaſon not unconſenting to the death [a] of his brother *Marcus*] was choſen one of the *Military Tribunes* at the very next election, and with him were join'd † *L. Valerius*, ‖ *Ser. Sulpicius*, § *L. Lucretius*, ‡ *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The plague ſtill raged, and to add to the misfortune, *Rome* was not only threatened again by the *Volſci*, but by ſome of her own colonies which revolted; ſo that the Senate found it neceſſary to engage the People's conſent to a war. And in order to this they promiſed to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and named five Commiſſioners to make the diſtribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to *Nepete*. Hereupon the Tribes unanimouſly agreed, notwithſtanding the oppoſi-

Thirty-ninth Mil. Trib. Liv. B. 6. c. 21.

* A third time.

† fourth time.

‖ A third time.

§ A third time.

‡ A third time.

[a] *Aulus Manlius* was one of the Military Tribunes when the *Patricians* made their firſt attempt to deſtroy his brother, in the year 369.

tion

Year of ROME CCCLXXI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty-one.

tion of the Tribunes, that troops ſhould be raiſed to act againſt the ſeveral enemies of *Rome*. Accordingly troops were raiſed; but, the plague continuing, the *Military Tribunes* durſt not lead them into the field. And though *Præneſte* followed the example of *Velitræ*, *Circæi*, and other colonies, the low condition of the Republick obliged her to ſuſpend her reſentments.

Thirty-ninth Mil. Trib.

Year of ROME CCCLXXII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighty.

But in the following *Military Tribuneſhip* of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, * *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and † *L. Æmilius*, the two firſt marched an army towards *Velitræ*, and in the neighbourhood of that place defeated the *Veliterni*, tho' join'd by great numbers from *Præneſte*. The Generals did not think it adviſeable to beſiege *Velitræ*, but rather to purſue the war with vigour againſt the *Præneſtins*, who had farther provoked the *Romans* by aſſiſting the *Volſci*.

Fortieth Mil. Trib.

* A 4th time.

† A 4th time.

Liv. B. 6. c. 22.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-nine.

And now the Republick having much work upon her hands, turned her eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus*, to raiſe him a ſixth time to the *Military Tribuneſhip*. *Camillus*, apprehenſive of the viciſſitude of fortune, was willing to ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquillity: But in vain he endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf, by pleading his age and infirmities; the People declared, that they did not expect him to fight in perſon either on foot or on horſeback, but only deſired him to aſſiſt the army with his counſel, and make it invincible by commanding it. *A. Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, ‡ *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, were choſen to be his Collegues. The Senate decreed the conduct of the war againſt

Forty-firſt Mil. Trib. Plut. Life of Camillus, p. 148.

‡ A third time.

gainſt the *Volſci* to *Camillus*; it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him. All the troops conſiſting of four legions marched towards *Satricum*, which the *Volſci* and *Præneſtins* had lately taken, and where they had formed their camp. *Camillus* poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy,[a] but was in no haſte to fight; he either waited for better health, or to receive a reinforcement of troops. In the mean time the *Volſci* endeavoured to provoke the *Romans* to a battle, and theſe grew impatient of the inſult. Their ardour for fighting was increaſed by the raſh diſcourſes of young *Furius*, who imputed the prudent delays of his Collegue *to his age, which*, he ſaid, *had chilled his blood.* He at length addreſſed himſelf to *Camillus*, reproached him with his inaction, and urged him to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiers. *Camillus* anſwered with an air of ſuperiority, but with great temper, That hitherto the *Roman* People had not been diſſatisfied with his conduct in war; that nevertheleſs, if the impetuoſity which hurried the ſoldiers on to an engagement was not to be reſtrained, he wiſhed them ſucceſs, but deſired to be excuſed, on account of his age, from engaging in the foremoſt ranks. While *Furius* drew up his troops in order of battle, *Camillus* prepared a *Corps de Reſerve* to aſſiſt his Collegue in caſe of diſtreſs; and this precaution proved of great importance: For when the young General, whoſe vigorous charge did not fail to put the *Volſci* to flight, had, through his indiſcreet warmth in purſuing them too far, ſuffered a defeat, *Camillus* rallied

Year of ROME cccLxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-nine.

[a] Forty-firſt Mil. Trib. Plut. Life of Camillus, p. 148. Livy, B. 6. c. 23.

c. 24.

Year of ROME cccLXXIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-nine.

rallied the broken cohorts, and repulſed the enemy. The next day he joined battle with them again. *Furius*, whom he had placed at the head of the cavalry, being ſenſible of his fault, intreated his troops to exert themſelves to recover his reputation. Accordingly, when the infantry were hard preſſed, the horſe, at his requeſt, diſmounted, and gave them aſſiſtance ſo opportunely, as to make them victorious. Among the priſoners were found ſome of the inhabitants of *Tuſculum*, a neighbouring city, and in alliance with *Rome*. Theſe, being examined, declared that they had taken arms with the conſent of their Magiſtrates. This account alarmed *Camillus*, and he thought it neceſſary to go in perſon to *Rome* with the priſoners, and lay the matter before the Senate. Though he left *Furius* to command the troops during his abſence, yet it was generally believed both in the army and in the city, that his chief buſineſs at *Rome* was to complain of him. The Senate therefore when they obſerved that he ſaid nothing of *Furius*, but confined his diſcourſe to the revolt of the *Tuſculans*, were much aſtoniſh'd; and ſtill more ſo, when of all his Collegues he choſe *Furius* to accompany him in the new expedition againſt *Tuſculum*. By this conduct *Camillus* gained honour to himſelf, and covered the diſgrace of the young General [probably his kinſman.] As for the *Tuſculans*, they diſarmed the reſentment of the *Romans* by making no reſiſtance. *Camillus* found the huſbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundeſt peace; the Magiſtrates of the city ſent him proviſions,

Forty-firſt Mil. Trib. Plut. Life of Camillus, p. 149. Livy, B. 6. c. 25.

viſions, and came out to meet him; and when he entered the place he found the ſhops and ſchools open, the markets full, and not the leaſt ſign of war. The General, pleaſed and ſatisfied with theſe tokens of repentance, adviſed the Senate of *Tuſculum* to ſend a Deputation to *Rome*, there to make their ſubmiſſion. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, who, habited in mourning, and with their *Dictator* at their head, addreſſed the *Conſcript Fathers* in a ſuppliant manner. The Senate readily forgave the *Tuſculans*, and, to make them intirely *Roman*, granted them, ſoon after, the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-nine.

Forty-firſt Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 26.

The following adminiſtration of * *L. Valerius*, † *P. Valerius*, § *L. Menenius*, ‖ *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and ‡ *Ser. Cornelius*, was diſturbed by domeſtick ſeditions and a foreign war. The two *Cenſors* had begun to examine into the grounds of the complaints made by the poor debtors, when one of thoſe Magiſtrates died; upon which the other, as cuſtom required, laid down his office, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But the *Patricians*, who were doubtleſs afraid of a *Cenſus*, (becauſe it muſt of courſe diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, and the oppreſſion which the poor debtors laboured under) pretended ſome defect in the election, and thence took occaſion to declare publickly, that it was againſt the will of the Gods, that the Republick ſhould have any *Cenſors* this year. *The Tribunes of the Commons* exclaimed againſt this proceeding, as an intolerable artifice; and would ſuffer no levies to be made to oppoſe the *Præneſtins*,

Year of ROME CCCLXXIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-eight.

Forty-ſecond Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 27.

* A fifth time.
† A third time.
§ A ſecond time.
‖ A third time.
‡ A fifth time.

Liv. B. 6. c. 28.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-eight.

tins, till theſe, embolden'd by the Diſcord in *Rome*, came pillaging to its very gates. Then in a fright and a hurry the People all ran to arms, *Titus Quinctius* was created *Dictator*, troops were raiſed without oppoſition, and the *Prænestins* (ſuch a dread they had of a *Dictator*) inſtantly removed farther off. Poſſeſt with a vain conceit, that the banks of the *Allia* muſt always prove a fatal place to the *Romans*, they incamped there, and were there routed. The *Dictator*, by aſſault, took eight towns ſubject to *Præneste*, and then *Velitræ*; after which *Præneste*, without waiting to be attacked, capitulated. From that city *Quinctius* brought, in triumph, the ſtatue of *Jupiter Imperator*, and placed it in the *Capitol* between the ſanctuaries of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and *Minerva*, and then abdicated his Dictatorſhip, which he had held only twenty days.

Forty-ſecond Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6. c. 29.

Year of ROME CCCLXXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-ſeven.

The Government of the Republick paſſed now into the hands of three *Patricians* and three *Plebeians*: The former were *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and * *L. Julius*; the latter *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. To the two *Manlii*, becauſe more nobly born than their *Plebeian* Collegues, and more in favour than *Julius*, the Senate gave the conduct of the war againſt the *Volſci*, but had ſoon cauſe to repent of this preference: For thoſe Generals, without firſt acquainting themſelves with the country, ſent out ſome cohorts to forage; and, upon the ſingle report of a *Latine*, who, diſguiſed under the appearance of a *Roman* ſoldier, came haſtily with the falſe tidings, *that the foragers were by the enemy inter-*

Forty-third Mil. Trib.

* A ſecond time.

Livy, B. 6. c. 30.

intercepted and ſurrounded, marched the army with all expedition to their reſcue, and thereby fell into an ambuſh, where the deſperate courage alone of the ſoldiers (not the ſkill of the commanders) preſerv'd them from total deſtruction; and the *Volſci*, during the action, detach'd a part of their troops, which ſurpriz'd and plunder'd the *Roman* camp. When the news of theſe diſaſters came to *Rome*, the Senate were at firſt for naming a Dictator; but judging by the inaction of the conquerors, that they knew not how to improve a victory, it was only reſolv'd to call home the army and its commanders. During theſe misfortunes abroad, *Rome* continued free from all domeſtick broils; which may reaſonably be imputed to the ſhare the *Plebeians* had at this time in the Government.

Year of ROME CCCLXXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-ſeven.

Forty-third Mil. Trib.

The next year, when *Sp. Furius*, * *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*, all *Patricians*, held the *Military Tribuneſhip*, was far from being ſo peaceable. What gave occaſion to the diſturbance, were the debts. To inquire into theſe, two Cenſors had been created; but they could not proceed in the affair, becauſe of a freſh irruption of the *Volſci* into the *Roman* Territory. The *Tribunes of the Commons* however purſued their point with more warmth than ever, and oppoſed the levies, till they had forced the Senate to iſſue a Decree, that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed either for private debts, or for the publick taxes during the preſent war. Hereupon all oppoſition to the levies ceaſed, and the *Romans* took ample revenge on the *Vol-*

Year of ROME CCCLXXVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-ſix.

Forty-fourth Mil. Trib.

* 2d time. Livy, B. 6. c. 31.

Year of ROME cccl xxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-five.

ſci. But the war was no ſooner at an end, than the creditors renew'd the proſecution of their debtors; who, far from having any hopes of diſcharging their old debts, found themſelves under a neceſſity of contracting new, on account of a tax impoſed on them, to defray the expence of a wall of ſquare ſtone, which the Cenſors were building; and the oppreſſed *Plebeians* could get no help from their Tribunes, becauſe, no army being at this time wanted, theſe had no levies to obſtruct.

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 32.

NAY, the next year, when, by the powerful influence of the *Patricians*, ſix [a] men of that order were again in the ſupreme magiſtracy, they raiſed, without any oppoſition from the Tribunes of the Commons, three armies, one to guard the City, another to be ready to march on any unexpected occaſion, and a third to take the field under the command of *Valerius* and *Æmilius*, againſt the confederated *Latines* and *Volſci*, who had commenced hoſtilities, and were incamped near *Satricum*, a city of the *Volſci*. In this war the *Romans* had the advantage. The confederates, after ſuſtaining ſome loſſes, quarrelled among themſelves, upon the Queſtion, Whether the war ſhould be continued? The *Antiates* and the reſt of the *Volſci* deſired peace; the *Latines*,

c. 33.

[a] L. ÆMILIUS, a fifth time,
S. SULPICIUS, a ſecond time,
P. VALERIUS, a fourth time,
L. QUINCT. CINCINNAT. a ſecond time,
C. VETURIUS,
C. QUINTIUS.

obſti-

obſtinately averſe to it, ſeparated from them in a rage, which they vented firſt on *Satricum*, reducing it to aſhes, and ſparing only a Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*. (This Divinity, according to *Plutarch*, was the ſame whom the *Greeks* called *Leucothea*, or *Ino*, Daughter of *Cadmus*.) Thence they fell upon the *Tuſculans*, to puniſh them for having deſerted the *Latine* Confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* Citizens. They ſurpriſed the Town, but the inhabitants retired into the Citadel, which they held out till they were reliev'd, probably, by that *Roman* army which had been kept ready to march upon occaſion. The *Romans* took the place by aſſault, and the *Latines* within the walls of it were all cut to pieces, not one eſcaping.

Year of ROME cccLxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-five.

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The lower ſort of the People of* Rome *are over-awed and oppreſs'd by the Great and the Rich; and the Commons in general loſe that ſpirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles. In the midſt of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman ſets three bold and enterpriſing men at work to raiſe, by ſome* New Laws, *the fortune of the* Plebeians *higher than ever. By one of theſe propoſed Laws (called afterwards the* Licinian Laws) *the* Conſulſhip *is to be reſtored, and, of the two* Conſuls, *one is always to be* Plebeian. *The three men, who combine to effect this project, are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, *the Lady's father, (a* Patri-

cian) C. Licinius Stolo, *her husband, a* Plebeian, *and* L. Sextius, *another* Plebeian, *of great distinction. After ten years struggle with the* Senate, *they carry their point. The* Prætorship *and* Curule Ædileship *are instituted. A* Plague *carries off many persons of distinction, among whom is the Great* CAMILLUS.

Year of ROME cccixxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred seventy-five.

§. I. A TREATY concluded with the *Antiates*, and the defeat of the *Latines*, gave the Republick an interval of rest from foreign wars: but as the Senators and rich *Patricians*, when they stood in no need of the assistance of the lower sort, never fail'd to oppress them; so the more quietness there was at this time abroad, the more violence and tyranny did they exercise at home towards their *Plebeian* debtors. Multitudes of these being insolvent, were condemned to be *bond-slaves* * to their mercileſs creditors; which melancholy scene so depressed and sunk the spirits not only of the meaner *Plebeians*, but even of the most considerable of that order, that, far from having the courage to stand in competition with the Nobles for the *Military Tribuneship*, there was not among them all a man of ability and experience, who would sue for or consent to bear even the *Plebeian Magistracies*[a]. But now,

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 34.

* Nexi.

[a] Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tanto in urbe vis Patrum indies miseriæque Plebis crescebant; quum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque quum jam ex re nihil dari posset, fama & corpore judicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant, pœnaque in vicem fidei cesserat, *Adeo ergo obnoxios*

Year of ROME cccl xxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-five.

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib.

now, at this very criſis, when the *Patricians* ſeemed to have ſecured to themſelves for ever all authority in the ſtate, and to have reduced the Commons to a kind of deſpondent ſubjection, a trifling accident gave occaſion to a wonderful change in the face of things: The *Plebeians* on a ſudden raiſed their drooping ſpirits, and with a dauntleſs ambition carried their pretenſions, and with ſucceſs too, higher than ever.

§. II. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a *Patrician* of great credit in both parties, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to *S. Sulpicius*, a *Patrician* by birth, and now Military Tribune; the younger to a rich *Plebeian*, named *C. Licinius Stolo.* One day when this *Plebeian*'s wife was at her ſiſter's houſe, a Lictor who walked before *Sulpicius* at his return from the Senate, thunder'd at the door (an uſual thing) with the ſtaff of the *Faſces*, to give notice that the Magiſtrate was coming. This noiſe, to which the wife of *Licinius* had not been accuſtomed, put her into a fright. Her ſiſter, taking notice of it, could not forbear laughing at her, ſeeming much to wonder at her ignorance. A very ſmall matter, ſays *Livy*, is ſufficient to diſturb the quiet of a

noxios ſummiſerant animos, non infimi ſolum, ſed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad Tribunatum Militum inter Patricios petendum, quod tanta vi, ut liceret, tetenderant; ſed ne ad Plebeios quidem magiſtratus capeſſendos, petendoſque ulli viro acri experientique animus eſſet: poſſeſſionemque honoris uſurpati modo à plebe per paucos annos, recuperaſſe in perpetuum patres viderentur. Ne id nimis lætum parti alteri eſſet, parva (ut plerumque ſolet) rem ingentem moliundi cauſa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambuſti, &c.

Year of ROME cccl.xxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-five.

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib.

woman's mind. The vanity of the younger *Fabia* was ſtung to the quick by her ſiſter's laughing; it made her feel the inequality of their conditions; and her uneaſineſs did not fail to be increaſed by the crowd of people that came to pay their court to her ſiſter, and receive her commands. Her father happening to ſee her while ſhe was yet in the firſt anguiſh of her grief, and perceiving by her countenance that ſomething troubled her, kindly aſked her what it was, and whether all was well at home. At firſt he could get no ſatisfactory anſwer from her: She was aſhamed to own, either that ſhe envied her ſiſter, or was diſcontented with her huſband. But *Fabius* continuing, in ſoft words, to preſs her to diſcloſe the ſecret, ſhe at length confeſſed, that the true cauſe of her pain was her being married unſuitably to her quality, and into a family incapable of honours and high ſtations. The father, being very fond of his daughter, omitted nothing that could be ſaid to comfort her, promiſing, *that it ſhould not be long before ſhe ſaw at home the ſame honours which ſhe had ſeen in her ſiſter's houſe.* And from this time he began to plot with his ſon-in-law for the intereſt of the Commons; theſe two aſſociating in their projects *L. Sextius*, a young *Plebeian* of capacity and ſpirit, and who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices in the Republick. The oppreſſion which the poor *Plebeians* labour'd under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be freed, but by raiſing ſome of their own body to the ſupreme power, gave

Livy, B. 6. c. 35.

gave a fair occaſion to the cabal to attempt an innovation in the Government. It was thought expedient, for the eaſier compaſſing their deſigns, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſhould begin, by getting the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip, a magiſtracy that would enable them to open themſelves a way to the higheſt dignities. And when they had carried that firſt point (which they ſoon did) they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to put the *Plebeians*, already not inferior to the Nobles in courage and virtue, upon a foot of equality with them in reſpect of honours too, boldly aiming, not at the Military Tribuneſhip, but at the very Conſulſhip itſelf. They propoſed a law for ſuppreſſing the office of Military Tribune, reſtoring the Conſulate, and requiring that of the two Conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be a *Plebeian*. And in order to make the People more eager to paſs this Law, they tack'd it to two others relating to the *Debts* and the conquer'd *Lands*.

Year of ROME ccclxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-five.

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib.

By the firſt of theſe two laws there was to be deducted from the capital debt whatever ſums had been paid for intereſt, and the principal was to be diſcharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

The ſecond was to prohibit any *Roman* Citizen from poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that reſtriction, were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer Citizens.

App. de Bell. Civ. B. 1. c. 2.

It is eaſy to gueſs, that laws of ſuch weighty import were not to be obtained without violent

Year of ROME cccLxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy-five.

ſtruggles. Riches and honours, thoſe objects of the moſt paſſionate deſires of men, were the intereſts in queſtion. The Senators, alarm'd and terrify'd, held publick and private councils, but could fall upon no expedient to avert the impending evil, except that of gaining ſome of the Tribunes over to their party; an expedient which in like conteſts they had formerly employ'd with ſucceſs. And now the eight Collegues of *Licinius* and *Sextus* were all prevailed with to oppoſe the meaſures of theſe two; ſo that when the projectors of the new laws had convened the Tribes to give their voices concerning them, the other Tribunes would not ſo much as ſuffer the reading of them to the aſſembly: The word VETO *(I forbid)* put a ſtop to all proceedings thereupon. The two Tribunes having frequently aſſembled the people, but ſtill in vain, *Sextius*, at length, addreſſing himſelf to the *Patricians*, ſaid aloud, *Very well; ſince* INTERCESSION [a] *is always to have ſo prevailing a power, we ſhall take care to defend the Commons with the very ſame weapon. Appoint an aſſembly whenever you pleaſe for electing* Military Tribunes; *the word* VETO, *which our Collegues now chant in concert ſo harmoniouſly, will not then be ſo pleaſing a muſick to your ears.*

Forty-fifth Mil. Trib.

Year of ROME 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, Liv. B. 6. c. 36.

§. III. THESE were no empty menaces; for, the time being come for a new election of Curule Magiſtrates, *Sextius* and *Licinius* oppoſed and hinder'd all proceeding thereto; and being themſelves continued in the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip,

[a] The term expreſſing the *Oppoſition* of the *Tribunes* to any publick Act.

they

they renewed the ſame oppoſition for five years ſucceſſively, ſo that the Republick fell into a kind of Anarchy. At length, in the fifth year, a foreign enemy came as it were to the aſſiſtance of the Senate. The inhabitants of *Velitræ*, a *Roman* Colony, grown wanton with idleneſs, and ſeeing no *Roman* army on foot, made ſome incurſions on the lands of the Republick, and then beſieged *Tuſculum*. The *Tuſculans* had long been allies, and had lately been admitted Citizens of *Rome*, ſo that the *Plebeians* as well as the Nobles were aſhamed to refuſe them aſſiſtance. *Sextius* and *Licinius* therefore waving their OPPOSITION, an aſſembly was held by an *Inter-rex*, for electing Military Tribunes. The choice fell on ſix *Patricians* [a], who, after ſome difficulty in making the levies, marched an army againſt the enemy, defeated them, raiſed the ſiege of *Tuſculum*, and beſieged *Velitræ*: And, this place not being taken when their year drew towards a cloſe, the Centuries created ſix new Military Tribunes [b] to carry on the ſiege; and among theſe, * *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*

Year of ROME ccclxxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventy.

Forty-ſixth Mil. Trib.

* A ſecond time.

[a] L. FURIUS, a ſecond time,
P. VALERIUS, a fifth time,
A. MANLIUS, a fourth time,
S. SULPICIUS, a third time,
C. VALERIUS,
S. CORNELIUS, a ſixth time.

[b] Q. SERVILIUS, a third time,
M. CORNELIUS,
C. VETURIUS, a ſecond time,
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,
A. CORNELIUS,
M. FABIUS.

Year of ROME cclxxxiii. Bef. J.C. Three hundred fixty-nine.

buſtus, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*. The ſtate of affairs at *Rome* was now much alter'd, not only by this promotion of *Fabius* to the ſupreme magiſtracy, but by an increaſe of ſtrength which the favourers of the new laws had got in the college of Tribunes, of whom at this time there were but five who oppoſed thoſe laws. *Licinius* and *Sextius* being thus ſupported by three of their Collegues, and by a Military Tribune, puſh'd their point with more warmth than ever. They were now the ſeventh year in office, and, by long habit, thoroughly practiſed in the art of managing the People. In the preſence of the multitude they boldly and repeatedly aſked the chief men of the Senate, *with what aſſurance they could deſire, that the laws ſhould allow them to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land, when only two acres were allotted to each* Plebeian? *Is it reaſonable that every one of you ſhould hold the lands of near three hundred Citizens, and that a Commoner ſhould hardly have ground enough whereon to build him a ſmall habitation to live in, or ſufficient for a burial-place when he dies?*

Forty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6. c. 37.

When by theſe and ſuch-like doleful words they had ſtirred up the People to a much greater indignation than they felt themſelves, they immediately added, *But how is it poſſible that any bounds ſhould be ſet to the avarice of the* Patricians, *or to their oppreſſion of the People, unleſs the People themſelves will provide for their own ſecurity, by raiſing ſome of their own body to the Higheſt Magiſtracy? Nor will it be ſufficient that* Plebeians *be* qualified by law *to be* Conſuls. *They obtain'd*

Year of ROME cccl xxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-nine.

Forty-ſeventh Mil. Trib.

tain'd the privilege of ſtanding for the Military Tribuneſhip; *and yet, in forty-four years* [c], *not one of their order was promoted to that dignity! The number of* Military Tribunes, *at their firſt inſtitution, was ordained to be* Six, *on purpoſe that the Commons might have a ſhare in that magiſtracy; nevertheleſs, by the power and influence of the Nobles, their juſt pretenſions have been almoſt conſtantly defeated. And how much eaſier will it be for the* Patricians, *when there are but two places to be filled by* Conſuls, *to ſecure them both to themſelves? The only remedy is, to make it an indiſpenſable law, that there be always* ONE Plebeian *in the* Conſulate. *From that very day, and not till then, may the* Roman *People be deem'd to have baniſhed Kings from* Rome, *and to have eſtabliſhed Liberty on a firm baſis: From that very day the* Plebeians *will begin to ſhare in all thoſe things which now give the* Patricians *the pre-eminence over them, Power, and Honour, Military Glory, and Nobility; they will enjoy great advantages themſelves, and tranſmit them greater to their poſterity.*

When the Tribunes found that theſe diſcourſes were liſtened to with pleaſure, they propoſed a fourth law, *That* DECEMVIRS *be appointed inſtead of* DUUMVIRS, *to take care of the* Sybilline Books, *and to interpret them; and that Five of the Ten be always* PLEBEIAN. However, all proceedings on this, as well as the other Propoſals, were ſuſpended during the ſiege of *Velitræ*, which went on but ſlowly. The five Tribunes in the

[c] From the Year 309 to 353.

intereſt

Year of ROME ccclxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-eight.

intereſt of the Senate had urged, that it was but juſt to wait the return of the army from before that place, that the Soldiers, who made ſo great a part of the Commons, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when ſuch important innovations were on foot.

Forty-eighth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 38.

§. IV. THE year ending before the return of the army, the Republick choſe [a] ſix new Governors; but the People continued in the *Plebeian* Tribuneſhip the two authors of the laws in diſpute. *Sextius* and *Licinius* having once more ſummoned the People (probably towards the cloſe of the year 384) were now reſolved to proceed without any regard to the *Prohibition* of their Collegues [b]. The Senate terrify'd hereat had recourſe

[a] L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS,
SP. SERVILIUS,
S. CORNELIUS, a ſeventh time,
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS,
S. SULPICIUS, a fourth time,
L. VETURIUS.

[b] Father *Catrou* and Monſ. *Vertot* ſeem both of them to have miſtaken ſome words of *Livy* in this part of the ſtory, and by that miſtake to have fallen into a perplexity, which has induced the firſt to ſuppoſe a ground of conteſt between the Tribunes, for which he has no authority, and the other to omit the mentioning of any conteſt at all between them.

Both the *French* writers relate, that the Tribunes were now *unanimous* upon the affair of the New Laws. The paſſage in *Livy*, on which I ſuppoſe they found themſelves, is this: Quum Tribus vocarentur, *nec interceſſio Collegarum latoribus obſtaret*, trepidi Patres ad duo ultima auxilia, ſummum imperium ſummumque ad civem decurrunt. The words in *Italick* they underſtand to mean, *That there was no longer any oppoſition to* Sextius *and* Licinius *from their Collegues:* Whereas the

courſe to their laſt experiments, the *Higheſt Authority* and the *Greateſt Man*. They named *CAMILLUS* to the DICTATORSHIP, this being the fourth time of his being inveſted with that dignity. His promotion, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was much againſt the will of the People, nor was *Camillus* himſelf very forward to accept the charge, not caring to exert the Dictatorial authority againſt thoſe who had ſo often on great occaſions repoſed their confidence in him, and believing that he was pitched upon out of ill-will, that he might be the inſtrument to oppreſs the Commons if he ſucceeded, or, failing, might himſelf be ruined.

Year of ROME cccLxxxIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-eight.

Forty-eighth Mil. Trib. Plut. in Camillus, p. 149.

The creation of a Dictator did not deter *Sextius* and *Licinius* from convening the Tribes to give their votes upon the new laws. *Camillus*, full of

Livy, B. 6. c. 38.

the context plainly ſhews the true meaning of them to be, not that *Sextius* and *Licinius* were not *oppoſed* by their Collegues, but that they were not *hinder'd* by that oppoſition from proceeding; and it was this that alarm'd the Senate ſo much, as to make them name a Dictator. That the Tribunes were ſtill divided about the new Laws, as before, is evident from the words of *Livy*, which preſently follow thoſe above cited: Quum Dictator ſtipatus agmine Patriciorum, plenus iræ minarumque conſediſſet, atque ageretur res *ſolito* primum *certamine inter ſe Tribunorum plebi ferentium Legem intercedentiumque*; & quanto jure potentior interceſſio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipſarum, latorumque, &c.

Father *Catrou*, not to be inconſiſtent with himſelf, conjectures that ſome of the Tribunes oppoſed the proceedings of the reſt at this juncture, not becauſe they diſapproved of the laws in queſtion, but out of reſpect for the Dictator then preſent, *Sans doute par reſpect pour le Dictateur*; that they were unanimous concerning the juſtice of paſſing the laws, and differ'd only as to the time.

anger

Year of ROME ccclxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-eight.

anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of the *Patricians*, repaired to the Aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf in his Tribunal. After the uſual conflict between the *legiſlating* and the *interceding* Tribunes, and when, in ſpite of the VETO of the latter, the former, ſupported by the People's favour, went on to take the ſuffrages of the Aſſembly, and the firſt Tribes had already voted for the Laws, the Dictator, riſing up, declared, *that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the Commons, and that he would never ſuffer one part of the Tribunes to deprive the other of their right of* Oppoſition. *Sextius* and *Licinius* laughed at this artful ſpeech, and continued to take the votes. The Dictator hereupon, in great wrath, ſent his lictors to drive the People out of the Forum; threatening at the ſame time, that, if they offered to proceed to *Law-making*, he would ſummon them to the *Campus Martius*, oblige them to liſt, and to march into the field. His menaces, while they put the Commons into a fright, ſeemed to raiſe the courage of the two Tribunes. For theſe preferred a Bill, and engaged the Commons to paſs it into a Law, *That, in caſe* M. Furius Camillus *made uſe of his Dictatorial Power to obſtruct the enacting of the Laws in diſpute, he ſhould pay a fine of* [a] 500000 *aſſes of braſs*. *Camillus*, preſently after, either intimida-

Forty-eighth Mil. Trib.

Plut. p. 250.

[a] Or 50000 *Drachmæ*; i. e. 1614 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

The Greek *Drachma* was in value the ſame as the Roman *Denarius*, that is, $7\frac{3}{4}$*d.* Engliſh.

ted

ted by this *Plebiſcitum*, or (as *Livy* is [b] inclined to think) having diſcovered, that there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of taking the Auſpices, when he was created Dictator, abdicated his ſupreme Magiſtracy. Year of ROME cccLxxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-ſeven.

§. V. THE Senate in this nice conjuncture not knowing how to act without a Dictator, whoſe authority might be a curb upon the Tribunes, named *P. Manlius* to ſucceed *Camillus* in that dignity.

Livy tells us, that during a ſort of inter-regnum, which there was between theſe two Dictatorſhips, *Sextius* and *Licinius* held an Aſſembly of the People, and propoſed their Laws anew; and that they might have obtained the paſſing of thoſe two which related to *Land* and *Uſury*, if thoſe would have ſatisfied them: but that they refuſing to ſeparate the Laws, and requiring the People to give their voices upon all at the ſame time, the Aſſembly could not be brought to paſs that Law which related to the Conſulate. Livy, B. 6. c. 39.

[b] *Livy* gives ſeveral reaſons for his believing that it was not fear which made *Camillus* reſign the Dictatorſhip. 1. The Character of the Man. 2. The Senate's appointing another Dictator to ſucceed him; which they would not have done, if the Dictatorial Authority had proved impotent in his hands. 3. *Camillus*'s accepting of the ſame office again not long after, and while the three Laws were ſtill in diſpute; which he would have been aſhamed to do, had he been ſo lately overpower'd in the exerciſe of it. 4. At the time when the bill, for impoſing the fine, is ſaid to have been preferred, he had power to hinder its paſſing into a Law, or he could not have hindered the paſſing of thoſe, for the ſake of which this was preferred.

Year of ROME cccIxxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty ſeven.

The new Dictator *Manlius* preſently diſcover'd himſelf to be a favourer of the Commons, by naming a Plebeian, *C. Licinius* (not *Licinius Stolo* the Tribune) for his *General of the Horſe.* Such a nomination was without example, but he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf to the Senate by alledging, that *Licinius* was his near kinſman, and that the dignity of *General of the Horſe* was not greater than that of *Military Tribune*, which latter *Licinius* had heretofore enjoy'd. [This ſhews, that in the confuſions of a ſtate, mutual fidelity between the members of a party is not much to be depended upon, becauſe of the private ties there that are among Citizens of the ſame City, though of oppoſite parties.]

Vertot.

When the election of Tribunes came on, the method they took in order to get themſelves continued in office, was, to pretend that they would no longer ſerve. They repreſented to the People, that they were grown old in the Tribuneſhip to no purpoſe, and that, after ſtruggling nine years with the Senate for the good of the Commons, the only recompence they had met with for their ſervices was neglect and ingratitude: *You would very gladly be freed from the oppreſſion of Uſury, and you are very eager to have your ſhare of the conquer'd Lands; but when the queſtion is, to promote the honour of your Tribunes, by whoſe labours and zeal you are to obtain thoſe benefits, you ſhew nothing but coldneſs and indifference. Is it conſiſtent with modeſty for you to aſk theſe advantages* by our means, *while you reſolve to leave us afterwards, not only without honour, but without hopes of honour? To be plain*

plain then, the Laws we have propoſed are inſeparable. If you are willing to paſs them conjointly, you may then chuſe us again into the Tribuneſhip; but if you are determined to reject that *which relates to the* Conſulate, *be aſſured that we will no longer ſerve, nor ſhall you get thoſe paſſed which concern* Uſury *and the* conquer'd Lands.

Year of ROME cccIxxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-ſeven.

All the *Patricians* in the aſſembly were ſtruck dumb with amazement at this open and reſolute Declaration, except *Appius Claudius* (Grandſon of the Decemvir.) *Appius*, not moved by any hope of influencing the aſſembly, but by anger and indignation, ſtepped forth and made a long and warm ſpeech, full of invectives againſt the two Tribunes, *thoſe TARQUINS*, as he called them, *the years of whoſe* perpetual *Tyranny were regularly number'd, as the years of the* Kings *were formerly in the* Capitol. And he expatiated on the inſolence of declaring, *That the Commons ſhould not be free to paſs ſuch Laws as they approved, unleſs they would at the ſame time paſs others which they did not approve, nor think to be for the publick benefit.*

Livy, B. 6. c. 40. & ſeq.

Appius's harangue had no other effect, than to delay for a while the publication of the laws propoſed. The two authors of them were choſen the tenth time into the Tribuneſhip; and it is probable, that the multitude being afraid of loſing ſuch able and zealous defenders, engaged themſelves to follow their directions implicitly.

c. 42.

Not long after their re-election into power, they obtained the paſſing of that law which had been laſt preferr'd, and which related to the guar-

Year of ROME cccIxxxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-ſix.

dianſhip of the *Sybils* Books. The Commons, content for the preſent with this victory, ſuffer'd ſix *Patricians* to be created Military Tribunes [a] for the next year, without mentioning any thing of the Conſulate.

Forty-ninth Mil. Trib. Plut. in Camillus, p. 150.

§. VI. IN the beginning of the new adminiſtration, ſudden advice coming, that a cloud of *Gauls* [b] from the coaſts of the *Adriatick* was advancing towards *Rome*, the danger, common to all, united the voices of all to raiſe *Camillus* (now the fifth time) to the Dictatorſhip. This great man, though near fourſcore, yet conſidering the peril the ſtate was in, did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it, and liſted his ſoldiers. And knowing that the force of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their great ſwords, with which they laid about them in a rude unſkilful manner, hacking and hewing the head and ſhoulders, he cauſed iron helmets to be made for moſt of his men, ſmoothing and poliſhing the out-ſide ſo, that the enemies ſwords lighting upon them, might either ſlide off or be broken; and round about their ſhields he drew a rim of iron,

Livy, B. 6. c. 42.

[a] A. Cornelius, a ſecond time,
L. Veturius, a ſecond time,
M. Cornelius, a ſecond time,
P. Valerius, a ſixth time,
M. Geganius,
P. Manlius, a ſecond time.

[b] *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans* feared the *Gauls* ſo much, that in a law they made to excuſe Prieſts from military ſervice, there was an exception to the caſe of an *Invaſion from the Gauls.*

the

the wood itſelf not being ſtrong enough to ſuſtain the blows. The two armies came to a battle in the territory of *Alba*. The *Roman* ſoldiers, ever ſince their defeat at the river *Allia*, had retained a fear of the *Gauls*: Nevertheleſs, *Camillus*, without much difficulty, obtained a compleat victory.

Year of ROME cccl xxxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-ſix.

Forty-ninth Mil. Trib.

After this ſucceſs he led his army to attack *Velitræ* (the ſiege of which had been interrupted) but the City ſurrender'd to him without reſiſtance. He then returned to *Rome*, where the honours of a TRIUMPH were decreed him by Senate and Commons.

§. VII. THE People returning home elated with victory, were more obſtinately bent than ever on paſſing the three Laws, ſo long diſputed. On the other hand, the Senate, equally obſtinate in their oppoſition, would not ſuffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorſhip, thinking that under the ſhelter of his great name and abſolute authority they ſhould be better able to contend with their adverſaries. *Plutarch* reports, that one day when the Dictator was ſitting on his Tribunal in the *Forum* diſpatching publick buſineſs, an officer, ſent by the Tribunes, commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the ſame time, as if he meant to drag him away by force. Never was a greater uproar or tumult in the *Forum* than on this occaſion; the *Patricians*, who ſurrounded *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude from below bawling out, *Pull him down, Pull him down.* *Camillus*, though greatly at a loſs what to do in this exigence, yet

Year of ROME cccIxxxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty ſix.

would not reſign his authority: Guarded by the Senators, he retired with them to the Senate-houſe; but, before he enter'd it, turned towards the *Capitol*, and beſought the Gods to put an end to theſe commotions, vowing to build a Temple to CONCORD, if Union might be reſtored among his Fellow-citizens.

Forty-ninth Mil. Trib.

After warm debates in the Senate about the meaſures proper to be taken, it was at length reſolved to comply with the people's deſires, and to accept the three Laws in queſtion, as the only means to procure domeſtick peace.

Plut. in Camillus, p. 152.

The Commons having thus obtained the victory over the Nobles, the Comitia were held for electing Conſuls, and then L. SEXTIUS the Plebeian Tribune was choſen Collegue in that dignity to *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* a Patrician. Nevertheleſs, when the election of *Sextius* ſhould have been confirmed by the Senate, the *Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſed to do it; and the new diſputes on this occaſion between the two parties roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Plebeians* were juſt ready to leave *Rome*, and make a new SECESSION, when the Dictator propoſed an expedient for a reconciliation. Hitherto the diſpenſing of juſtice in the city had been a branch of the Conſular Office, but to which the Conſuls could not always attend, being commonly during the ſummer in the field at the head of armies. *Camillus*'s propoſal was to ſeparate this function from the Conſulate, and to create a judge with the title of PRÆTOR, to whom it ſhould be appropriated; and he adviſed the Senate to ſuffer that one *Con-*

Livy, B. 6. c. 42.

ſul

ſul might be annually choſen out of the *Plebeians*, on condition that the *Prætor* ſhould be always a *Patrician*. This motion being approved by both parties, the Senate confirmed the election of *Sextius*, and the Centuries created the ſon of *Camillus* Prætor[a].

Year of ROME cccIxxxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty ſix.

§. VIII. TRANQUILLITY being thus eſtabliſhed, the *Romans*, in gratitude to the Gods, ordered the *Great Games* to be celebrated. Theſe uſed formerly to laſt but three days, but now a fourth[b] day was added; and on this account their name of *Ludi Magni* was changed into *Ludi Maximi*. It happened that the preſent *Ædiles* (for what reaſon is unknown) refuſed to take upon them the care of making preparations for this feſtival; upon which the young *Patricians* cried out, *That ſince the affair in queſtion was the worſhip of the Gods, they ſhould think it no diſhonour to be employ'd in it, provided they might be appointed* ÆDILES. Accordingly the People, at the motion of the *Dictator*, created a new office in favour of the *Patricians*. It was called the *Curule Ædileſhip*, becauſe theſe Ædiles (two in number) had the honour of the *Curule Chair*, which the Plebeian Ædiles had not. The buſineſs was to take care of the Temples, Theatres, Games, Markets, Tribunals of Juſtice, and the repair

Forty-ninth Mil. Trib. Livy, B. 6. c. 42.

[a] The Prætorſhip was the ſecond dignity in the Commonwealth; and the Prætor had the Prætexta, the Curule Chair, and two Lictors, who bearing Faſces, walked before him. The Provincial Prætors, created in after-times, were allowed ſix Lictors. *C. & R.*

[b] *Plutarch* ſays, that this fourth day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

Year of ROME cccIxxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-five.

of the City Walls, and alſo to ſee that no novelty was introduced into Religion; in after-times they had likewiſe the inſpection over books that were publiſhed, and pieces written for the Stage.

Eighty-ninth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 1.

Notwithſtanding ſome alarms, cauſed by a report, that the *Gauls*, who had diſpers'd themſelves in *Apulia*, were again got together, and that the *Hernici* threatened a rebellion, the Senate were unwilling to enter upon a war under the adminiſtration of a *Plebeian Conſul*, leſt the glory he might acquire, ſhould redound to the honour of his whole party; ſo that all continued quiet both abroad and at home, excepting that the Tribunes of the Commons expreſs'd their diſcontent to ſee, that for one Plebeian Conſul granted to the Commons, the Nobles had got three new Curule Magiſtrates. The Senate hereupon were prevailed with to conſent, that the *Curule Ædiles* ſhould be choſen out of the *Plebeians* every ſecond year; and afterwards they left the People at full liberty to chuſe them every year out of either body.

Year of ROME cccIxxxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-four.

§. IX. *ROME* after theſe eſtabliſhments continued at reſt, both from foreign wars and inteſtine diviſions, under the new Conſuls *L. Genucius* a *Plebeian*, and *Servilius Ahala* a *Patrician*. But it ſeems to have been the fate of the city never to be in perfect tranquillity: A peſtilential ſickneſs ſpread itſelf on a ſudden, when nobody could account for it. It could not be aſcribed to the irregularity of the ſeaſons. The winter had not been extraordinary dry, nor had

Ninetieth Conſulſhip. Oroſ. B. 3. c. 4.

the cold weather been too ſuddenly ſucceeded by an immoderate heat; nor had the ſummer been too rainy; nor had the autumnal fruits, for want of ſufficient maturity, cauſed indigeſtions: Nor, laſtly, had the *Calabrian* wind blown any dangerous and unwholſome air to *Rome*. This plague ſwept away, together with great numbers of the People, ſome of the Magiſtrates; one Cenſor, one Curule Ædile and three Tribunes of the Commons: But what made it moſt memorable, was the death of the great *Camillus*, who, though full of years, was more regretted, ſays *Plutarch*, than the whole multitude of thoſe who died of the ſame diſeaſe.

Year of ROME cccLxxxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-four.

Ninetieth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 2.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *The* Romans *have recourſe to various expedients for putting a ſtop to the plague. The filial piety of the ſon of* L. Manlius Imperioſus. §. II. *The earth opens on a ſudden in the midſt of the* Forum, *and continues open, to the great terror of the City.* M. Curtius, *a young* Patrician, *leaps into the gulph compleatly armed and on horſeback.* §. III. *The* Conſul Genucius, *the* FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome *had ever placed* at the head of an Army, *unfortunately conducts the war againſt the* Hernici, *his Legions are routed, and he himſelf ſlain.* §. IV. *The* Gauls *advance within three miles of* Rome, *incamping on the banks of the* Anio. *Young* Manlius *in ſingle combat ſlays the mightieſt champion of the* Gauls, *a man of a gigantick ſtature; which ſo diſcou-*

rages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confuſion. The next year the Gauls *appear again in the neighbourhood of* Rome; *but are routed and driven thence by the* Romans. *The* Conſuls *make war with ſucceſs againſt the* Tyburtes *and the* Hernici.

Year of ROME cccclxxxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-three.

IN the year of *Rome* 389, *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius Stolo* took poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. The latter was that famous *Licinius* (ſon-in-law to *Fabius Ambuſtus*) who jointly with his Collegue *Sextius* had contrived the three Laws, and at the end of ten years, during which he had been *Tribune of the Commons*, had obtained the publication of them. And now the promiſe *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter was fulfilled, and ſhe had the pleaſure of ſeeing the *Lictors* with their *Faſces* march before her *Plebeian* huſband, and of hearing them thunder at her gate.

Ninety-firſt Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 2.

The plague ſtill continuing, the *Romans* to put a ſtop to it had recourſe to their old ſuperſtition of the *Lectiſternium*. But this proved ineffectual; and they endeavoured therefore to avert the anger of the Gods by a new inſtitution to their honour. Hitherto *Rome* had no other Publick Sports but thoſe of the *Circus*, that is to ſay, Races and Wreſtling, which were very proper exerciſes for ſo warlike a people. But now they introduced a new ſort of *Shows*, which at firſt were innocent, but afterwards became indecent, and had a natural tendency to corrupt mens manners. Theſe ſhows were called *Scenici*, becauſe they were repreſented on a *Scene*, that is, a

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 1.

Year of ROME cccIxxxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-three.

ſtage built in the *Shade.* The performers, who were brought to *Rome* from *Hetruria*[a], danced to the Flute, and kept time with their motions and geſtures; but their *Entries* had no manner of re-

Ninety-firſt Conſulſhip.

[a] The *Hetrurian* word which ſignified a *Player* or *Dancer*, was *Hiſter*; and hence the name of *Hiſtriones*, given by the *Romans* to all Stage-players. The firſt ſpeakers on the ſtage fell into the vicious taſte of the *Feſcennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw coarſe and unpremeditated jeſts at one another. Theſe were ſoon ſucceeded by ſatires written in verſe, and ſet to the flute; which ſatires were repeated with ſuitable geſtures. And ſome years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces, turn'd the Satires into regular Plays, and confined himſelf in his compoſitions to one uniform matter. But he was called upon ſo often to repeat his Plays, that he at laſt became hoarſe, and loſt his voice. Hereupon he got the people's conſent that a young man ſhould ſing for him, whilſt he only accompanied the verſes with proper geſtures; and then his action ſoon became more perfect, when his attention was no longer divided between ſinging and acting. When theſe Theatrical Pieces were thus brought into form, the Farces, which had made people laugh, were deſpiſed and neglected. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* youth revived them, and acted them at the end of their ſerious pieces. When the profeſs'd actors had finiſh'd their parts, ſome young *Romans* came upon the ſtage maſk'd, and began to repeat merry verſes, as formerly, but ſuch as were free from obſcenity. Theſe pieces, which were a ſort of compoſition between Satires and regular Plays, had their firſt riſe in *Atella*, a city in *Campania*, and were called *Exodia*, that is, Verſes not belonging to the Play. The *Romans* borrowed them from the *Oſci*, a people of *Campania*. But the *Roman* youth never ſuffer'd the profeſſed actors to bear any part in their *Exodia*, leſt they ſhould diſhonour them. The perſons who acted theſe pieces were not liable to the penalties to which the *Hiſtriones* were ſubject; their names were not blotted out of the roll of the *Tribes* in which they had been incorporated; nor were they excluded from military ſervices, as infamous perſons. *C. & R.*

lation

Year of ROME cccIxxxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-three.

lation one to another; neither were the Dances accompanied with any verſes or diſcourſes in theſe early times.

This kind of Comedy being performed in a part of the *Circus* near the banks of the *Tiber*, and the river happening to overflow at this time, the people concluded, that the new remedy they had invented to appeaſe the Gods would be ineffectual. However, as they themſelves had been agreeably amuſed, they did not lay aſide the entertainments of the *Scene*.

Ninety-firſt Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 2.

Year of ROME CCCXC. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-two.

In the following Conſulſhip of * *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. Genucius*, the plague not ceaſing, the *Romans* bethought themſelves of an old religious ceremony which, according to tradition, had ſucceeded in the like caſes. This was *the driving of a Nail* by a Dictator into the wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on the ſide next *Minerva*'s ſanctuary, which was under the ſame roof. This Goddeſs was deem'd the inventreſs of Numbers; and the *Romans* uſed to number the years of their ſtate by nails. *Livy* tells us, that there was a law written in antique characters and obſolete words, and fixed up in the Chapel of *Minerva*, importing, *That the chief Prætor for the time being ſhould on the Ides of* September DRIVE THE NAIL. (When this law was made, the *Romans* were perhaps unacquainted with the numeral letters.) The ſame author adds, that the Conſul *Horatius*, who dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter* the year after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, performed at the ſame time the ceremony of driving the Nail, which function was afterwards tranſ-

Ninety-ſecond Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time.

Livy, B. 7. c. 3.

transferred from the Conſuls to the Dictators, as magiſtrates of greater dignity and power; and that the cuſtom having been diſcontinued, it was now thought a matter of ſufficient importance for which a Dictator ſhould be expreſly created.

Year of ROME CCCXC. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-two.

Ninety-ſecond Conſulſhip.

T. Manlius was the perſon named to the Dictatorſhip. It is likely that the plague, which had laſted three years, ceaſed about this time, becauſe *Livy* makes no further mention of it. But *Manlius* being diſſatisfied to have the whole buſineſs of his office confined to a religious ceremony, and it being believ'd that the *Hernici* were preparing to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, he laid hold of this pretext to continue himſelf in power. He order'd troops to be rais'd, and even uſed violence to make the citizens inliſt themſelves. However, *the Tribunes of the People* oppoſed his deſign, repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to abdicate. And the *Conſuls* for the new year, * *Q. Servilius* and † *L. Genucius*, were no ſooner in office, than he was cited by *Pomponius*, one of the *Tribunes*, to anſwer before the People for the violence and cruelty which he had exerciſed towards the Citizens. But nothing was ſo much deteſted as his cruel nature, and the ſurname of *Imperioſus* (intolerable in a free city) which he had acquired by his exceſſive ſeverity, ſhewn no leſs to his own blood and kindred than to ſtrangers. For the Tribunes, among other things, accuſed him of inhumanly and barbarouſly treating one of his own ſons for no juſt cauſe, and merely upon account of ſome natural defects. This ſon of *Manlius*, named *Titus*,

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-one.

Ninety-third Conſulſhip.

* A ſecond time.

† A ſecond time.

Livy, B. 7. c. 4.

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-one.

Titus, had an impediment in his ſpeech, and was beſides of ſlow parts; and for theſe reaſons only, his father had confined him to the country, where he made him work like one of his ſlaves.

Ninety-third Conſulſhip. Cic. Off. B. 5. Livy, B. 7. c. 5.

Manlius had a copy of his accuſation given him, and twenty-ſeven days to prepare for his defence. All were highly exaſperated againſt him, except the ſon himſelf, who hearing of what paſs'd, and not being able to endure the thought that he too ſhould furniſh matter of accuſation againſt his father; and to the end that Gods and Men might know how far he was from wiſhing to give his father's enemies any aſſiſtance; he reſolved upon a moſt extraordinary method to deliver him, a method (as *Livy* obſerves) ſuitable to his ruſtick education and character, but laudable for the filial piety that inſpired it. Early in the morning he privately and alone left the village to which he had been baniſhed, came to *Rome*, nor ſtopt till he arrived at the door of *Pomponius* the Tribune, who was not yet up. He ſent him word, that the ſon of *Manlius* deſired to ſpeak with him about an affair that would admit of no delay. The Tribune believing that the young man was come either to thank him for the concern he had taken in his misfortunes, or perhaps to diſcover to him ſome new proofs of his father's tyrannical temper, order'd him to be brought in. *Manlius*, as ſoon as they had ſaluted each other, deſir'd to ſpeak with him in private without witneſſes; upon which every body preſent was order'd to retire. Then the young man drawing out a poniard, and ſtanding over the *Tribune*,

bune, threatened to run him thro', if he did not immediately and ſolemnly ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution of his father. *Pomponius* was too much terrified not to ſwear whatever the other pleaſed to dictate; and he excuſed himſelf afterwards to the People for his dropping the proſecution, by alledging the oath which had been extorted from him. The People were not diſpleaſed at the bold enterprize of a ſon in favour of a father, which was the more laudable, inaſmuch as the father's hard uſage of his ſon had not been able to leſſen his filial piety. So that not only the father was diſcharged, but the affair ended much to the honour of young *Manlius*, who the ſame year was promoted, by the ſuffrages of the People, to one of the moſt important poſts in the army. Every *Roman* Legion was commanded by ſix *Legionary Tribunes*, and theſe officers had been hitherto left to the choice of the Generals; but this year the People thought fit to elect part of them in the *Comitia*. Of twenty-four *Legionary Tribunes*, appointed at this time, the People choſe ſix, and *T. Manlius* was named the ſecond of the ſix. We ſhall ſoon ſee him by his merit ſurmount all the diſadvantages of his education.

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-one.

Ninety-third Conſulſhip.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4.

§. II. THE ſame year a very extraordinary accident threw the City into a conſternation. The ground, perhaps by the violence of an earthquake, opened to a great breadth and depth in the midſt of the *Forum*, and continued gaping in a frightful manner. Neither could this chaſm be filled up by throwing abundance of earth into it,

Livy, B. 7. c. 6. Val. Max. B. 5. Oroſ. B. 3. S. Auſtin. de Civitate Dei, B. 5.

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-three.

Ninety-third Conſulſhip.

it, wherein the Citizens laboured with great diligence. The Augurs being conſulted hereupon, told them, *That their purpoſe would never be effected, until that thing, wherein the ſtrength and power of the* Roman *People chiefly conſiſted, were dedicated and devoted to that place, and that ſuch a ſacrifice would ſecure the eternal duration of the* Roman *ſtate.* Great conſultation there was, and much doubt concerning the meaning of this Oracle. At length *M. Curtius*, a *Patrician*, a brave young man, reproving the ſtupidity of his fellow-citizens, aſked them, how they could doubt whether *Rome* had any thing more valuable than Arms and Valour? Having armed himſelf compleatly, and mounted a horſe richly capariſon'd, he came to the *Forum*, where the People were aſſembled in crowds. While they ſtood ſilent with wonder and expectation, he turned his eyes, one while to the *Capitol*, and then to the Pit, and having adored the celeſtial and infernal Gods, and devoted himſelf to death for his country, he leap'd at once horſe and man into the gulph. The People, both men and women, threw in after him great quantities of corn, fruit, and other oblations; and it is probable that with theſe, and afterwards with earth and rubbiſh, the hole was quite filled up. But ſome authors fabulouſly report, that the ground immediately cloſed upon *Curtius*'s precipitating himſelf into the opening.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 6.

§. III. AFTER this expiation, the *Romans* unanimouſly reſolv'd to turn their arms againſt the *Hernici*, who had made depredations in the terri-

territory of *Rome*, and had refuſed the ſatisfaction demanded by the heralds of the Republick. The conduct of the war fell by lot to *Genucius*, the firſt *Plebeian Conſul* that was ever intruſted with the Command of an Army; and both parties were very anxious about the ſucceſs of his expedition, becauſe according to the event it would be judged whether the Republick had done well to admit *Plebeians* to ſhare in the Conſular Dignity. It happened unluckily for the Commons, that *Genucius* proved unſucceſsful in the campaign. He fell into an ambuſh, his legions were routed, and he himſelf killed. The *Patricians* did not fail to take advantage of this accident. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of *Rome* were owing to the vengeance of the Gods, who had been deſpiſed. That the Commons might indeed, by force of a law, deprive the Nobles of their birth-right, and transfer the *Auſpices* to thoſe who could not take them without impiety; but that no ſuch law would prevail againſt the immortal Gods, whoſe anger at the profanation of their rites was ſufficiently declared by the defeat of the army, and the death of its Commander.

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-one.

Ninety-third Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 6.

Servilius, the ſurviving Conſul, with the approbation of the Senate, named to the Dictatorſhip *Appius Claudius*, the man who had the moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the oppoſition made to the new law complained of. While *Appius* was raiſing a ſecond army at *Rome*, the *Hernici*, fluſhed with their ſucceſs, advanced to attack the camp of the *Romans* under the command of *C.* c 7.

Sul-

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty-one.

Ninety-third Conſul-ſhip.

Sulpicius, who had been Lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had ſince that General's defeat collected his ſcatter'd troops. The *Romans* courageouſly ſallied out of their intrenchments, and repulſed the enemy. *Appius* ſoon after arrived with his new levies, and having rewarded the bravery of the Lieutenant and his ſoldiers with praiſes, prepared for a general battle.

On the other hand, the *Hernici*, in order to preſerve the advantage they had gained over *Genucius*, exhauſted their whole country of men to reinforce their army; and, among the multitude of their ſoldiers, choſe out three thouſand two hundred, whom they divided into eight *Cohorts*, of four hundred each. Theſe were the flower of their army, and made a ſeparate corps, that their valour might be the more conſpicuous; and to engage them to behave themſelves bravely, their Generals honour'd them with marks of diſtinction, promiſed them double pay, and exempted them from all the drudgery of military ſervice. In the general action, which ſoon followed, when the *Roman* Knights had made ſeveral efforts in vain to diſorder the enemy's battalions, and when with permiſſion of their General they had diſmounted, and placed themſelves in the firſt line of the foot, the eight choſen *Cohorts* made head againſt them, ſo that the flower of both nations came now to a cloſe engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, and it ſeemed to be only the *better fortune* of the *Romans* which determined it in their favour. However, they loſt a fourth part of their army, and a great number of

Livy, B. 7. c. 8.

of *Knights*.. *Appius* had no Triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the unwillingneſs of the People to do honour to the moſt declared enemy of the *Plebeian* party.

Year of ROME CCCXCII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty.

§. IV. AND now notwithſtanding the misfortune of *Genucius*, and the murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* made no ſcruple to chuſe a Conſul out of the *Plebeians* for the next year. *C. Licinius Calvus Stolo* was elected a ſecond time; and with him was joined *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. Under theſe Generals the *Romans* advanced into the country of the *Hernici*, and finding no enemy in the field, laid ſiege to *Ferentinum*. This place having ſurrendered, they took the road to *Rome*; but when they came to *Tybur*, they found the gates ſhut againſt them. There had been frequently miſunderſtandings between the Republick and the *Tyburtes*, but now it was war declared; and the *Romans* perhaps believing that the *Tyburtes* could not have the confidence to think of coping with the Republick, unleſs encouraged by ſome ſecret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were in motion, thought proper, as in time of imminent danger, to name a *Dictator*. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the perſon nominated to that dignity; and he appointed *S. Cornelius* to be his General of the Horſe.

Ninety-fourth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 9.

The apprehenſions of the Republick were not groundleſs. The *Ciſalpine Gauls* having taken arms again to revenge their defeat, came and incamped three miles from *Rome*, near one of the bridges of the *Anio*. The *Romans*, under the command of the Dictator, immediately advan-

Year of ROME CCCXCII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixty.

ced to meet them. Nothing but the river parted the two armies, and neither party endeavoured to break down the bridge, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue fear. This bridge became the ſcene of many combats between the champions of the two armies. One day a *Gaul* of a gigantick ſize advanced upon the bridge, and challenged the ſtouteſt of the enemy to ſingle combat. His extraordinary ſtature ſtruck ſuch a terror into the braveſt of the *Romans*, that not one of them, for a long time, durſt enter the liſts againſt him. Young *Manlius* alone, who had ſo remarkably ſignaliz'd his piety to his father, thought he had found a danger worthy of his valour. He went to the *Dictator*, and aſked permiſſion of him to encounter the *Gaul: For*, ſaid he, *though I were ſure of victory, I would never fight out of my rank without your command; but if you will give me leave, I will ſhew that huge beaſt, that I am deſcended of the ſame family which drove the* Gauls *headlong from the* Capitol. *Go, Manlius*, anſwered the Dictator, *and be as courageous for the glory of thy country, as thou waſt for the defence of thy father.* The two champions came ſoon to an engagement. *Manlius* had for this combat choſen a ſhort ſword, made both for cutting and ſtabbing, and artfully getting within the long one of his enemy, gave him two ſtabs, and laid him breathleſs on the ground. The *Gaul* had a Collar * about his neck, which *Manlius* took from him, and put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence it was that he got the ſurname of *Torquatus*, which deſcended to his poſterity. The event

Ninety-fourth Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 10.

* In Latin Torquis.

event of this ſingle combat ſeem'd to the *Gauls* ſo bad an omen for the reſt of the war, that they abandon'd their camp in the night, and diſpers'd themſelves in *Campania*. Nor could they well have retired to their own country without the aſſiſtance of the *Tyburtes*, who furniſhed them with proviſions.

Year of ROME CCCXCIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-nine.

Ninety-fifth Conſulſhip. Livy. B. 7 c. 11.

This people had too openly declared againſt the Republick to be ſuffer'd to go unpuniſh'd; and ſo ſoon therefore as the *Conſuls* for the new year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Poetelius Libo*, enter'd upon their office, levies were made at *Rome* to chaſtiſe them. *Poetilius* conducted this war, while *Fabius* marched againſt the *Hernici*, who perſiſted in their revolt. The Republick was at this time deſtitute of all aſſiſtance from abroad. The very *Latines*, formerly ſo attached to her, ſtood abſolutely neuter. In the mean time, the *Gauls* ventur'd to advance again to the very neighbourhood of *Rome*, and block'd up the gate *Collina*. To make head againſt theſe dangerous enemies, the Republick named *Servilius Ahala Dictator*, without recalling either of the *Conſuls*. *Servilius* came to an engagement with the *Gauls*, under the very walls of *Rome*, where the *Romans* fighting within ſight of their fathers, wives, and children, were irreſiſtible. The *Gauls* fled towards *Tybur*, and being favour'd by the *Tyburtes*, who made a ſally to facilitate their retreat, enter'd it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Poetilius*, who attack'd them in their flight. *Poetelius*, nevertheleſs, obtained a Triumph, while his Collegue *Fabius*, who had fought with ſucceſs againſt the *Hernici*,

Year of ROME CCCXCIII. Bef. J.C. Three hundred fifty nine.

had only an *Ovation.* The *Dictator*, who had moſt deſerved a Triumph, declined that honour, and laid down his *Dictatorſhip.*

CHAP. VI.

Ninety-fifth Conſulſhip.

§. I. *A domeſtick ſedition, which is ſoon quell'd. An incurſion of the* Tyburtes, *who are ſoon repulſed. The commencement of a new war againſt* Rome *by the* Tarquinienſes. §. II. *The* Gauls *appear on a ſudden in the plains of* Præneſte. C. Sulpicius, *named* Dictator, *with an army, ſtrengthened by the* Latines, *marches againſt them. By the help of a new ſtratagem he obtains a compleat victory. The* Hernici *and the* Tarquinienſes *are vanquiſhed by the* Romans. §. III. Two *new* Tribes *are form'd. A Law is paſs'd againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. Another fixing the legal intereſt of money at One* per Cent. *per month.* Licinius Stolo, *author of the law againſt any man's poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is paſſed againſt holding the* Comitia *in any place but* Rome. §. IV. *The* Faliſci *and* Tarquinienſes *having engaged all* Hetruria *to take part with them againſt* Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, *the* PLEBEIAN Conſul *of the laſt year, is named* DICTATOR *by* Popilius, *the* PLEBEIAN Conſul *of this, to the great diſpleaſure of the Nobles. He obtains a compleat victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the* Senate. Two Patricians *are choſen to the* Conſulate,

ſulate, *contrary to the intent of one of the* Licinian *laws, and the cuſtom for eleven years paſt. The next year the* Faſces *are again in the hands of* two Patricians; *and likewiſe the year following.* T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) *is named* DICTATOR, *to conduct an army againſt the* Cœrites.

§. I. THE *Tyburtes* made a jeſt of *Poetilius's* Triumph, and threatened to be ſoon again at the gates of *Rome.* This made the *Romans* ſenſible, that theſe enemies were neither conquered nor humbled; and the new Conſuls therefore, *M. Popilius Laenas* and *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus*, would probably have led an army into the territory of *Tybur*, if they had not been hinder'd by a ſudden riſing in the City, of the People againſt the Senate. *Popilius* was *Pontifex* to the Goddeſs *Carmenta*, as well as *Conſul*, and was juſt offering a ſacrifice, when he received the news of the commotion. He ran from the altar in his Pontifical Robe to the place where the People were aſſembled, and by his influence put a ſtop to the ſedition. And becauſe the robe he then wore was *Laena*, he thence got the name of *Laenas.* But *Popilius* was very ſoon obliged to aſſume the Soldier. A handful of *Tyburtes*, out of a bravado, and to make good their late threatenings, came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarm'd the City. The two Conſuls, as ſoon as it was day, marched out with their troops at different gates, and eaſily repulſed theſe bold enterpriſers, whoſe attempt ſerved only

Year of ROME CCCXCIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-eight.

Ninety-ſixth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 12. Cic. in Brut.

Year of ROME CCCXCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-seven.

only to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in *Rome*, and totally extinguiſh the ſedition.

In this ſame year the *Tarquinienſes*, a people of *Hetruria*, enter'd the *Roman* territory in arms; nevertheleſs the *Romans* poſtponed their revenge till they had choſen new *Conſuls*.

Ninety-ſeventh Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 12, 13, 14.

§. II. THE perſons elected were *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The hoſtilities of the *Tarquinienſes* were ſoon followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appear'd on a ſudden in the plain of *Præneſte*, and advanced as far as *Pedum*. But in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes of the Republick, the *Latines* (for what reaſon is uncertain) very ſeaſonably renewed their ancient treaty of alliance with *Rome*, and furniſh'd her with the ſame *quota* of men as formerly. With this re-inforcement ſhe was in a condition to make head againſt all her enemies. *C. Sulpicius* was named Dictator to conduct the war againſt the *Gauls*. With the beſt Legions of the *Conſular* armies, ſtrengthened by the *Latin* auxiliaries, he took the field, and met the enemy. Both armies were very ardent to engage; but the *Dictator* reſtrained the impetuoſity of his troops, thinking it better policy not to run the hazard of a battle, ſince the *Gauls* muſt neceſſarily be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, having prepared no magazines, and being no longer ſupplied by the *Latines*. The ſoldiers however did not enter into their General's views, and univerſally murmured againſt him, as a timorous commander of brave men. They came in crowds to the *Dictator*'s quarters, and demanded acceſs to him, having

Appian. in Celtic.

ing named *Sextius Tullius* (a man of diſtinguiſh'd courage, and who for ſeven years paſt had been firſt Captain of the firſt *Corps* in the army) to be their ſpeaker. *Sulpicius* was ſurpriſed to find himſelf ſurrounded by a number of mutineers, and eſpecially to ſee *Sextius* at their head, whom he had thought an unblameable officer. *Sextius*, in the name of the army, reproached him with the diſadvantageous opinion he ſeemed to have entertained of the valour of his troops, and urged him to lead them to the enemy. His ſpeech to the *Dictator* was follow'd by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. *Sulpicius* found himſelf under a neceſſity of promiſing to comply with their deſires; but then, taking *Sextius* aſide, he aſked him, *What it was that had put him at the head of a Faction?* The brave *Centurion* reply'd, that it was not any want of reſpect to his General, or ignorance of the Martial Laws; but to prevent the ſoldiers chuſing an inſolent leader, who might do ſomething injurious to the dignity of the *Dictator*. He then adviſed *Sulpicius* to yield to the deſires of the ſoldiers, who otherwiſe ſeem'd inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting, whether he would or not. An accident preſently convinced the *Dictator* of the truth of what *Sextius* had told him. Two beaſts of burden, which eſcaped out of the *Roman* intrenchments, and were ſeized by the *Gauls*, had like to have been the occaſion of a general action. The *Roman* ſoldiers were with difficulty reſtrained by their Centurions. *Sulpicius* therefore

Year of ROME CCCXCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-ſeven.

Ninety-ſeventh Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME CCCXCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty seven.

thought it no longer proper to delay the engagement, and gave notice in the camp that he would offer battle the next day.

Ninety-seventh Conſulſhip. Frontin. Stratagemata.

The *Romans* being inferior to the *Gauls* in number, the *Dictator*, to remedy this diſadvantage, made uſe of a ſtratagem which had never been practiſed before. He order'd his Muleteers to put upon their mules the furniture of warhorſes, to mount them, march ſilently up to the hills, and hide themſelves in the woods, till they received farther orders. This extraordinary body of troopers, to the number of about one thouſand, appearing opportunely in the plain in the heat of the action, ſo intimidated the *Gauls*, who fear'd to be ſurrounded, that they preſently diſperſed and fled, loſing more men in their flight than in the action, for few of them eſcaped the ſlaughter.

Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a Triumph, and had made a preſent of ſome of the enemies ſpoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*, and the Government returned into the hands of the two *Conſuls* for the year. *Plautius* vanquiſhed the *Hernici*, and totally ſubdued them. But *Fabius* was defeated in battle by the *Tarquinienſes*, who, to ſhew their contempt of the Republick, cut the throats of 307 *Roman* priſoners. However, the Conciliation of the *Latines*, the total Overthrow of the *Gauls*, and the Reduction of the *Hernici*, made this a proſperous year for the Republick. *Rome* was now in almoſt as flouriſhing a condition as before it was taken by King *Brennus*.

Livy, B. 7. c. 15.

§. III.

§. III. SOME *Roman* Citizens being at this time ſent into the *Pomptin* Territory, to ſtop the incurſions of the *Veliterni* and *Privernates*, formed a new *Tribe* there, called *Pomptina*, which, with the *Tribe Publicia*, or *Popilia*, lately eſtabliſhed in the territory of the *Volſci*, made the whole number of the *Tribes* twenty-ſeven.

Year of ROME CCCXCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-ſeven.

Ninety-ſeventh Conſulſhip.

At this time likewiſe a law was made, at the motion of *Poetilius* the Tribune, and with approbation of the Senate, againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. It was occaſioned by the ambition of the *Novi Homines*, or *upſtart Gentlemen*, who, not content with ſolliciting ſuffrages in the *Forum Romanum*, went even to the country fairs, and other publick meetings, to buy voices. This, ſays *Livy*, was the firſt law of the kind preferred to the People; nevertheleſs, according to the ſame author, a law was paſs'd in the year 321, forbidding the candidates to make their robes whiter than ordinary, and this * in order to give a check to the practice of canvaſſing for offices.

B. 4. c. 25.

* Tollendæ ambitionis cauſſâ.

Under the following adminiſtration of *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Manlius* * *Imperioſus*, the intereſt of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of the *Tribunes of the People*, ſettled at One *per Cent. per month* [a]. This regulation ſo diſ-

* A ſecond time.

[a] *Livy*'s words are, De UNCIARIO FOENORE — rogatio eſt perlata, &c. "The intereſt of money, both in "*Rome* and *Greece*, was high for a conſiderable time. Sim- "ple intereſt was exacted monthly in both places, at the rate "of one *per cent. per month*.——The *Romans* paid a De- "narius

Year of ROME CCCXCVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-ſix.

displeaſed the avaricious *Patricians*, that, to revenge themſelves on the *Plebeians*, they cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to anſwer for the breach of one of the four laws (which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly promoted) prohibiting any Citizen to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually poſſeſs'd a thouſand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his ſon, and made him the nominal poſſeſſor of one half of them. However, he was convicted, before the *Prætor*, of fraud, and fined ten thouſand [b] *Aſſes of Braſs*. Theſe inteſtine commo-

Ninety-eighth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 16. Val. Max. B. 8. c. 6. Plin. B. 18. c. 3.

" narius a month for 100 Denarii; and it is mentioned by " *Cicero* as monthly.———And becauſe the *As* was reckoned " any Integer, it was likewiſe called *Aſſes Uſuræ:* So that " *Aſſes Uſuræ* and Centeſimæ Uſuræ are the ſame thing,—— " *Livy* and *Tacitus* mention the *Fœnus Unciarium*, and *Semiun-* " *ciarium*, as high, which according to the proportion of " the *As*, being but $\frac{1}{12}$ or $\frac{1}{24}$ in the month, muſt only make " 1 or $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent. per Annum.* And the Law of the XII. ta- " bles forbids, *Ne quis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*" So it is expreſſed by *Tacitus.* " Theſe expreſſions cannot be " interpreted according to the analogy of the tables, but " differ from all the others; and they certainly denote the " *Centeſima Uſura:* But, how this way of expreſſion in theſe " two authors has happened, I can give no account: It " ſeems they put the *Uncia* for the *As* or *Integer.*———*Se-* " *miſſes Uſuræ* or $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent. per month*, ſix *per cent.* a year, " which *Pliny* calls *civilis et modica*, came to be the publick " and cuſtomary intereſt of money; for the *Aſſes Uſuræ* came " to be a grievance, and occaſion'd great tumults among " the people; yet ſtill he that took it was not reckoned to " tranſgreſs any law; and there were ſome greedy Uſurers " that exacted double, triple, nay four times as much." *Arbuthnot*, chap. xxii. *Of the intereſt of money.*

[b] Or 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* *Arbuthnot.*

tions

tions being over, the *Conſul Marcius* was order'd to conduct an army againſt the *Privernates*, who the year before had declared againſt *Rome*. *Marcius* routed the enemy in the field, and purſued them to *Privernum*, which, to preſerve it from being plunder'd, they immediately ſurrender'd. Year of ROME CCCXCVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-ſix.

But *Cn. Manlius*, the other *Conſul*, gain'd little glory in his expedition againſt the *Faliſci*, whom he had been ſent to puniſh for ſeveral inſults on the Republick. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but his attempt upon the Conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the *Tribes* near *Sutrium*, and had there made a law in his camp, *That the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave, thereafter ſold, ſhould be paid into the publick Treaſury.* The Senate had conſented to this law, notwithſtanding the irregularity of holding the *Comitia* by *Tribes* in the Camp. But the *Tribunes of the People* thought this ſtep of the *Conſul* of dangerous conſequence to the publick liberty; and therefore got a law paſſed, forbidding any man to aſſemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, upon pain of death. However, the law relating to the twentieth part of the price of ſlaves was not repealed. Ninety-eighth Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 16.

§. IV. THE *Conſuls* for the following year, *M. Fabius* * *Ambuſtus* and *M. Popilius* † *Laenas* (both a ſecond time) no ſooner entered on their office, than they took their Military employments by lot. *Popilius* commanded the army which was to act againſt the *Tyburtes*. He found them ſhut up within their walls, and ravaged their lands without oppoſition. But *Fabius* had a more Y. of R. 397. Bef. J. C. 355. 99th Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time. † A ſecond time.

Year of ROME CCCXCVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-five.

more difficult war to manage againſt the united *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*. They ſtirred up all *Hetruria* againſt the Republick. The *Hetrurians* advanced towards the *Roman* Territory, as far as the *Salt-Pits*, on the banks of the *Tiber*; and their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourſe to the uſual remedy in great emergencies. The *Conſul Popilius* was ordered to name a *Dictator*; and as he was a *Plebeian* himſelf, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Conſul* of the laſt year, to raiſe him to that dignity. The *Dictator* likewiſe choſe a *Plebeian*, *C. Plaucius Proculus*, to be his General of Horſe: ſo that now the government of the Republick was almoſt intirely in the hands of men of true merit, choſen out of the People. The *Patricians*, ſtung with jealouſy at theſe promotions, did all they could to hinder the *Dictator* from having the neceſſaries for the war: but, on the other hand, the People haſtened the preparations for the campaign, and the General marched out to meet the enemy. He ſurpriſed their camp, forced it, and took eight thouſand priſoners. Notwithſtanding ſo compleat a victory, the Senate oppoſed the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*; but the People did him juſtice, and he enter'd *Rome* triumphantly the day before the *Nones* of *May*.

Ninety-ninth Conſulſhip.

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new *Conſuls*, and *Fabius* not being at *Rome*, the Nobility pretended that it was unlawful for any *Plebeian*, though a *Dictator*, to preſide in the *Comitia*; becauſe by the *Pontifical* Laws the election

lection of chief Magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, ſaid they, belong of right only to *Patricians*. And for this time they prevailed. The Republick had recourſe to an *Inter-regnum*; and, which is very extraordinary, the *Plebeians*, in the very year in which they triumph'd moſt, were excluded from a ſhare in the Government; two *Patricians* were choſen *Conſuls* in the enſuing *Comitia*. The *Tribunes of the People* exclaimed againſt the election, as contrary to the cuſtom practiſed for eleven years paſt, during which time one of the *Conſuls* had always been a *Plebeian*. But the preſident of the *Comitia* ſilenced their clamour, by citing a Law ‡ of the *Twelve Tables*, *That only the laſt edicts of the People ſhould be of force:* For they inferred, that the People, by chuſing two *Patricians*, had in effect aboliſhed the former cuſtom.

Year of ROME cccxcvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-five.

Ninety-ninth Conſulſhip.

‡ See 8th Law of the 9th Table, p. 325.

The new *Conſuls*, *C. Sulpicius* || *Peticus*-and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, after a ſlight battle, took *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*, but did nothing elſe remarkable abroad during their adminiſtration. Their chief view was to keep the *Conſulate* in *Patrician* hands; and when the time came for new elections, they declared that they would never reſign their dignity to any other than *Patricians*. This occaſioned great commotions and tumults in the *Campus Martius*, inſomuch that the greater number of the People cried out, that a *Seceſſion* was neceſſary, and in reality quitted the aſſembly, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them. Theſe gave their ſuffrages for two *Patricians*, *M. Fabius* * *Ambuſtus* and *T. Quinctius Pennus*; and thus

Year of ROME cccxcviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-four.

100th Conſulſhip.

|| A third time. Livy, B. 7. c. 18.

Year of ROME CCCXCIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-three.

thus the Nobility carried their point. The Conſuls took the field; the former againſt the *Tyburtes*, whom he totally ſubdued; the latter againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, on whom the *Romans* now revenged the cruelty committed on the three hundred and ſeven *Roman* ſoldiers formerly mentioned. *Quinctius* having defeated them in a bloody battle, put all the priſoners to the ſword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he ſent to *Rome*, where, by order of the Senate, they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Theſe victories extended the reputation of the *Romans*; inſomuch that the *Samnites* ſent an embaſſy to the Republick, courted her friendſhip, and concluded an alliance with her, probably upon the ſame foot as that with the *Latines* and *Hernici*. Without changing their Laws or Government, they engaged to furniſh the *Romans* with troops in their neceſſity; and the *Romans* promiſed to protect them againſt their enemies both at home and abroad. This was conſtantly the firſt ſtep taken by the politick Republick, in ſubduing the nations that lay neareſt to her. She flatter'd them with the title of Allies of the *Roman* People; and when by their aſſiſtance ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of the more diſtant countries, thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be lull'd aſleep under the title of Allies, found themſelves involved in her conqueſts; and though they were ſtill call'd Allies, they were treated as Subjects.

101ſt Conſulſhip.

* A third time, Livy, B. 7. c. 19.

Though the People were ſtill very deſirous to have one of the Conſuls *Plebeian*, the Nobility,

as their creditors, had them ſo much under at this time, that they kept the Conſulſhip in their own hands; and *C. Sulpicius* † *Peticus* and *M. Valerius* ‡ *Poplicola* were again promoted to that dignity. While the Republick was preparing her levies to act againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, ſhe received advice from the *Latines*, that the *Volſci* were upon the point of entering the *Roman* Territory; and this obliged her to divide her forces between the two *Conſuls*. *Sulpicius* marched into *Hetruria*, *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*. *Valerius* had already incamped on the confines of the Territory of *Tuſculum*, when he was recalled to *Rome* to nominate a *Dictator*. This was occaſion'd by letters from *Sulpicius*, which imported, that the *Cærites* were undoubtedly diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*; that his army was not ſtrong enough to repreſs the inſolence of theſe enemies united; and that even the *Faliſci* had joined the latter. In order therefore to have a third army on foot, to oppoſe the *Cærites*, while the two *Conſuls* check'd the progreſs, the one of the *Volſci*, the other of the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci*, *Valerius* was directed to name a *Dictator*. Accordingly he named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to that dignity, who appointed *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his General of Horſe. Though *Manlius* had never been *Conſul* (a neceſſary ſtep to riſe regularly to the *Dictatorſhip*) yet his merit was ſuch, that no oppoſition was made to his promotion.

Year of ROME CCCC. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-two.

102d Conſulſhip.
† A fourth time.
‡ A ſecond time.

But now the inhabitants of *Cære*, intimidated by the preparations made againſt them, inſtead of purſuing the war, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to implore

Year of ROME CCCC. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-two.

implore the clemency of the Senate. The Senate referred the Deputies to the People, who being moved to compaſſion by the repentance of the *Cærites*, and eſpecially when reminded that *Cære* had been formerly the *Aſylum* of the *Veſtals*, and the Receptacle of their Gods, granted them a truce for an hundred years, and the *Dictator*, inſtead of marching againſt them, led his troops againſt the *Faliſci*. But neither on this ſide did he find an enemy in the field to contend with; ſo that having laid their country waſte, he immediately return'd to *Rome*.

302d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 20.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The Magiſtrates take effectual meaſures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *The* People *ſuffer two* Patricians *to be declared* Conſuls. *Nevertheleſs in this very Conſulate the Commons prevail for the firſt time to have a* Plebeian *choſen to the* CENSORSHIP. §. III. *And notwithſtanding that the preſent* Conſuls *name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for the election of their ſucceſſors, in order to get two* Patricians choſen, M. Popilius Laenas, *a* Plebeian, *is promoted (now a third time) to the Conſulate with* L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius *falling ſick, the* Plebeian Conſul *has the ſole conduct of a new war with the* Gauls. A PRÆTOR *acts as a* General, *for the firſt time. Two* Patricians *are choſen* Conſuls. *The* Gauls *ſpread themſelves on the ſea-coaſt of* Latium. M. VALERIUS *(afterward ſurnamed* CORVUS) *a Legi-*

a Legionary Tribune, *kills in ſingle combat a Champion of the* Gauls, *and this occaſions a general action in which the* Romans *obtain the victory.* Valerius, *though but twenty-three years of age, is choſen to be one of the* Conſuls. §. IV. *The* Romans *conclude a Treaty with the* Carthaginians. §. V. *The Intereſt money is lower'd to* Half per Cent. Valerius Corvus (*now a ſecond time* Conſul) *defeats the* Volſci, *and takes from them* Satricum. *The* Secular Games *are celebrated for the ſecond time.* §. VI. *A* Dictator *is named, on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the* Aurunci. *He builds a Temple, which he had vowed, during a battle with the enemy, to* Juno Moneta. *The year following, the* Romans *imagining that the Goddeſs, agreeable to her name* MONETA, admoniſh'd *them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods,* P. Valerius *is named* Dictator, *to order the celebration of the* Feriæ Latinæ.

§. I. ALL things were quiet in the city, till the time came for new Elections. The *Dictator*, who was to have preſided in the *Comitia*, had formed the deſign of hindering any *Plebeian* being choſen to the *Conſulſhip*; but the *Tribunes of the People* perceiving his intention, *oppoſed* the aſſembling of the *Centuries*, till the expiration of his *Dictatorſhip*, and of the *Conſuls* year, both which ended at the ſame time. An *Inter-regnum* enſued; and the two parties were irreconcileable. The People began to make complaints about their debts, as well as of the infraction of

Year of ROME CCCC. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-two.

102d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 21.

Year of ROME CCCCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-one.

the *Licinian Law*, relating to the election of *Conſuls*; and the diſputes grew to ſuch a height, as ſeem'd to threaten an open revolt. This apprehenſion induced the Senate at length to ſuffer the *Licinian Law* to take place, and to permit the *Centuries* to chuſe one of the *Conſuls* out of the *Plebeians*. C. * *Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, was joined with *P. Valerius Poplicola* in the Conſulate. Theſe Magiſtrates made it their firſt care to reconcile the two Parties, by eaſing the Debtors. To this end, they choſe out * five men of known probity, to take an account of all debts, and ſee them diſcharged. Theſe five were call'd *Bankers*, and they had the command of the Publick Treaſury, to enable them to perform their commiſſion, which they did to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Thoſe who through ſloth and careleſſneſs, rather than want, had plunged themſelves in debt, either borrowed Money of theſe Bankers, giving ſecurity to the publick, or elſe depoſited the value of their debts in their creditors hands, in effects, which were valued by the Bankers. By this means the greater number of the Debtors were relieved without wronging any perſon, and with little loſs to the publick.

103d Conſulſhip.
* A ſecond time.

§. II. BUT while the Republick was taking theſe methods to ſecure peace at home, ſhe was ſuddenly alarm'd with the report of a new war,

* C. Duilius,
P. Decius Mus,
M. Papirius,
Q. Publilius,
T. Æmilius.

which

which ſhe muſt quickly ſuſtain abroad againſt the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*; upon which the Senate immediately named *Julius Iulus Dictator*. The report however proved groundleſs, and was (probably) raiſed by the *Patricians*, only to get a man at the head of affairs, who might prevent the *Licinian Law* from taking place in the enſuing elections. And indeed he employ'd all his credit and power to that end, but without ſucceſs; for the People were ſo warm and ſteady in oppoſing his deſign, that both he and the *Conſuls* were out of office before they could get the *Comitia* aſſembled.

Year of ROME CCCCI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty-one.

103d Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 22.

In the *Inter-regnum* which enſued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed by turns; and the People, by the complaiſance which they had for theſe men, ſeem to have been actuated by ſome particular pique againſt the late *Dictator*, in their oppoſition to his deſires; for now they readily ſuffer'd two *Patricians* to be raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*. *Sulpiciu* † himſelf was one of them, and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* the other. The former march'd againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Faliſci*: But theſe two nations being tired out by the calamities of war, ſubmitted to the Republick, and obtained a truce for forty years.

Year of ROME CCCCII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty.

104th Conſulſhip.

† A fifth time.

The preſent interval of peace ſeemed a proper ſeaſon for holding the *Comitia*, to elect new *Cenſors*. A day was accordingly fixed for this purpoſe, and it was the firſt time that any *Plebeian* was ſeen to ſtand *Candidate* for that important office. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, having been twice

Year of ROME CCCCII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifty.

Conſul and once *Dictator*, thought he might well aſpire to any dignity in the Republick. He was the firſt of the Commons who had been raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip*; and, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Nobles, he had obtain'd a TRIUMPH for his exploits in that ſtation. And now, in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, he was declared *Cenſor* with *Cn. Manlius* a *Patrician.*

104th Conſulſhip.

§. III. BUT though the *Patricians* had not been able to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Cenſorſhip*, they ſtill hoped to ſecure the Conſulſhip wholly to themſelves; and the better to ſucceed in that deſign, the preſent *Conſuls* named *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* (who had been thrice Conſul) *Dictator* to preſide at the next election, imagining, that an abſolute Governor would be more reſpected in the *Comitia*, and have more influence. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, *M. Popilius Laenas*, a *Plebeian*, was now choſen *Conſul*, a third time; and his Collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling ſick when he ſhould have taken the field, the Senate had the farther mortification of ſeeing the *Plebeian Conſul* ſole General of the Troops. *Popilius* immediately order'd levies to be made, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gauls*, who were ravaging the *Latine* Territory, and approached towards *Rome*; and to be the ſooner in readineſs for marching, he appointed the [a] Enrollment without the Gate *Capena*, and not upon the *Capi-*

Year of ROME CCCCIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-nine.

105th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 23. Appian. in Celtic.

[a] The gate *Capena*, now called the gate of St. *Sebaſtian*, led to the *Appian Way*; as we learn from *Frontinus*, who tells us, that the Cenſor *Appius* made a great road from this gate quite to *Capua*.

tol.

tol. So great a number of ſoldiers inliſted themſelves on this occaſion, that the Conſul, by order of the Senate, divided them into two armies, and left one to guard the City, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, the preſent *Prætor*. And this was the firſt time that the *Prætor* was ſeen at the head of an army. *Popilius* with four *Legions* and ſome auxiliaries marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, plundered their camp, and led back to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with ſpoil. He was decreed a Triumph at his return; but the ceremony was deferr'd c account of a wound he had received in the battle, and of which he was not yet recover'd. His Collegue *Scipio* continued likewiſe ſtill ſick; ſo that the Republick, ſeeing both her chief Magiſtrates out of a condition to diſcharge their functions, deſir'd them to name a *Dictator* to preſide at the election of new *Conſuls*. Accordingly they named *L. Furius Camillus* (ſon of the Great *Camillus*) to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of the Horſe. Theſe two eminent *Patricians* employ'd their utmoſt efforts to make the election fall only on men of their own order, and they ſucceeded. The *Dictator* prevailed to have himſelf choſen one of the *Conſuls*; and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another *Patrician*, was appointed his Collegue.

And now the *Gauls*, who after their late defeat had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, came down again, and ſpread themſelves upon the Sea-coaſt in the country of the *Latines*. At the ſame time ſome *Greeks* (from what part is uncertain)

Year of ROME CCCCIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-nine.

105th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 24.

Year of ROME CCCCIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-eight.

106th Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME CCCCIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-eight.

made a deſcent on the very ſame coaſt where the *Gauls* were ravaging and plundering, *i. e.* from the mouth of the *Tiber* to *Antium*; but the *Gauls*, jealous of their booty, forced theſe new invaders back to their ſhips. While the *Greeks* ſtill hovered about the Coaſt, and the *Gauls* were yet in *Latium*, the Republick loſt one of her Generals, who ſhould have acted againſt theſe Robbers; *Appius*, one of the *Conſuls*, died during the preparations for the war. It ſeemed expedient to nominate a *Dictator* to act in concert with the ſurviving *Conſul*, but the Senate were unwilling to give *Camillus* any ſuperior. He had obliged them in the late Elections, his perſonal merit was great, and his very name of *Camillus* was a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*; all theſe conſiderations made them accept of him as ſole Governor of the Republick; ſo that he wanted little more than a greater number of *Lictors* to commence a regular *Dictator*. His firſt care was to raiſe two armies. The *Latines* were ſummoned to furniſh their contingent of Auxiliaries; but they refuſed to be commanded by a *Roman* General; and, in a National Diet, reſolved to ſhake off the diſhonourable yoke. However, the *Conſul* found *Roman* Citizens enough, who by Law were obliged to ſerve, to compoſe a body of ten *Legions*, amounting to 45,000 men. *Camillus* left two of theſe *Legions* to guard the city; gave four to *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he ſent to defend the ſea-coaſt againſt the *Greeks*, and he himſelf incamped with the other four in the *Pomptin* territory, a country full of marſhes and rivers;

106th Conſulſhip. Livy. B. 7. c. 25. Diod. Sic. B. 16.

for he had no deſign of coming to a battle with the *Gauls*; his only view was to harraſs the enemy in their poſts, intercept their convoys, and, if poſſible, to ſtarve them. While both armies continued unactive, a fierce *Gaul* of a gigantick ſtature appeared between the two camps, defying the braveſt man in the *Roman* Legions to ſingle combat. *M. Valerius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, great grandſon of the famous *Valerius Voluſius*, accepted the challenge, and is ſaid to have obtained a victory by means of a Raven, which had perched upon his helmet ever ſince day-break, and which, during the fight, flew in the face of the Giant, and ſo blinded him with his wings, that *Valerius* eaſily ſtabbed him. The *Gauls* ſeeing their champion ſlain, immediately crowded round his body, to hinder him from being ſtript of his armour; and the *Romans* at the ſame time ran to defend *Valerius*, and this by degrees brought on a general battle, in which the *Gauls* were again defeated. Thoſe of them that eſcaped took their way through the country of the *Volſci*, and croſſing *Campania* retired as far as the coaſts of the *Adriatick* ſea. As for the brave *Valerius*, the General rewarded him with a crown of Gold and ten Oxen; and he ever after bore the name of *Corvus* *.

Year of ROME CCCCIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-eight.

106th Conſulſhip. Aul. Gel. B. 9. c. 11. Livy, B. 7. c. 26. Auth. of Lives of Illuſt. Men. c. 29.

* Raven.

Nothing now remained for the *Conſul* to do, in order to finiſh his year with honour, but to drive away the *Greek* pirates that infeſted the coaſts of *Latium*. With this view he joined his army to that of the Prætor *Pinarius*; but the obſtinacy of thoſe adventurers, who, though they

Year of ROME CCCCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-ſeven.

durſt not land, continued hovering at ſea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he had imagined. In the mean while the time for the new election of Conſuls drew near, ſo that he was obliged to name a *Dictator* to preſide in the *Comitia*; and on this occaſion the famous *Manlius Torquatus* was again raiſed to that dignity. A *Dictator* could not fail to have a conſiderable influence in the aſſembly of the *Centuries*; and *Manlius*, who was extremely pleaſed with the exploit of *Valerius*, ſo much reſembling his own former victory over a gigantick *Gaul*, found means to prevail with the People to chuſe him one of the Conſuls, though but twenty-three years of age, and too young to have a place in the Senate. With him they joined *Popilius Laenas*, now *Conſul* a fourth time.

107th Conſulſhip.

As for *Camillus*, he made ſo good an appearance on the coaſt, that the *Greeks* not daring to come aſhore, and at laſt wanting freſh water and other neceſſary proviſions, put out to ſea.

Livy, B. 7. c. 27.

§. IV. THE armies were diſbanded; and *Rome*, for a ſhort ſpace, had neither War abroad, nor Quarrels at home. Her Tranquillity however was not compleat: a peſtilential ſickneſs diſturbed it. The Senate directed the Decemvirs to conſult the Sibylline Books, and, it being there found that the *Lectiſternium* would be good againſt the plague, they ordered that notable ceremony to be performed.

But the moſt memorable event of the preſent year was *A Treaty of Friendſhip and Alliance between* ROME *and* CARTHAGE. It was made at the

the requeſt of the *Carthaginians*, who ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* for that end; and it ſeems to have been the *firſt* [a] Treaty concluded between the

Year of ROME CCCCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-ſeven.

107th Conſulſhip.

[a] *Oroſius*, lib. 3. cap. 7. calls the TREATY made at this time the *Firſt*—PRIMUM illud ictum cum Carthaginienſibus fœdus.

Polybius pretends, that ſo early as the *firſt year* of the *Republick*, ROME and CARTHAGE entered into a TREATY, the record of which, in the old obſolete Latin, was, in his time, ſtill extant: and he gives us the following *Tranſlation* of it, as made with all poſſible exactneſs.

"THERE ſhall be peace and friendſhip between the *Ro-*
"*mans* and the Allies of the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians* and the Allies of the *Carthaginians*, on the following conditions:

"The *Romans* and the Allies of the *Romans* ſhall not na-
"vigate beyond the *Fair Promontory* [b], unleſs conſtrained
"by tempeſt or an enemy. If at any time they ſhall chance
"to be forced aſhore [beyond that promontory] they ſhall
"not be permitted to take or buy any thing but what they
"need for repairing their veſſels, and for their ſacrifices.
"None ſhall make longer ſtay aſhore than five days.

"On thoſe who ſhall come to traffick, no duty ſhall be
"impoſed beſide the Fees to the Cryer and Regiſter; and for
"payment of whatever ſhall be ſold, whether in *Africa* or
"*Sardinia*, in the preſence of thoſe officers, the publick
"Faith ſhall ſtand engaged to the ſeller. If any *Romans*
"ſhall come to ſuch places in *Sicily* as are in ſubjection to
"the *Carthaginians*, they ſhall have juſtice done them in all
"things.

"The *Carthaginians* ſhall do nothing to the detriment of
"the people of *Ardea*, *Antium*, *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, or *Tar-*
"*racina*, or any other of the *Latines* whomſoever, if they be

[b] That is, to the Southward of it, towards the leſſer *Syrtis*, as *Polybius* explains it. But the *Romans* were permitted to have trade and commerce with *Carthage* and the reſt of *Africk* on the other ſide the *Fair Promontory*, as likewiſe in *Sardinia* and thoſe parts of *Sicily* which were dependent on *Carthage*.

"ſubject

Year of ROME CCCCV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-seven.

the two States. Cum Carthaginiensibus legatis *Romæ* FOEDUS ICTUM, quum amicitiam ac societatem

" subject [to the *Romans*] and if any be not subject, yet the " *Carthaginians* shall make no attempt on their towns; if " they make seizure of any such towns, they shall deliver up " the same unhurt to the *Romans*. They shall not build any " fort in the country of the *Latines*; and in case they shall " at any time land there in arms, they shall not remain there " one night." *Polyb.* B 3. c. 22. See what is said in relation to *this Treaty*, in p. LI. & seq. of the *Dissertation on the Credibility, &c.* prefixed to the Fourth Volume.

107th Consulship. Livy, B. 7. c. 27.

Polybius gives us another Treaty, as the *second*, between the two republicks, but does not tell us when it was made. It differed from the first in the following particulars:

The *Tyrians* and those of *Utica* were comprised in it. For it was a treaty between the *Romans* and their Allies on one side, and the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrians*, *Uticenses*, and their Allies on the other.

To the *Fair Promontory* were added *Mastia* and *Tarseium*, as places beyond which the *Romans* were not to go in search of Plunder nor build a City, nor carry on any commerce. [The Geographers know not the situation of these places.]

The *Romans* might trade to the towns of *Sicily*, subject to the *Carthaginians*, but were to have no commerce in *Sardinia*, nor in any part of *Africa*, except the City of *Carthage* only. Here they were to be allowed the same rights and privileges [*in point of Trade*] as the Citizens themselves; and the *Carthaginians* were to have the like treatment in *Rome*.

If the *Carthaginians* should take any Town in the Territory of the *Latines*, not under the *Roman* dominion, they might keep the Pillage and Captives, provided they relinquished the town; but if the *Carthaginians* should make any Captives among those of the *Latines*, who, though not subject to *Rome*, were, by a written Treaty, in league of amity with her, and should bring such Captives into any *Roman* port, and these Captives should be discovered and challenged by any *Roman*, they should be set at liberty.

The

cietatem petentes veniſſent. *Liv.* lib. vii. cap. 27.

Year of ROME CCCCVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-ſix.

§. V. In the following Conſulſhip of *C. Plautius Hypſæus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus* (who, though twice *Dictator*, had never been *Conſul* before) nothing remarkable happened, except the reducing of the intereſt of money from one *per Cent.* [per month] to half *per Cent.* and the allowing the debtors, upon their paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to diſcharge the remainder by annual and equal payments; and the debtors had this further relief, that no levies were made, nor taxes raiſed this year.

108th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 7, c. 27.

But the next year, when *Valerius* * *Corvus* and *C. Poetelius Libo Viſolus* were in poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, news being brought from *Latium* that the *Volſci* were ſolliciting the *Latines* to take arms againſt *Rome*, *Valerius* received orders to march and attack the Enemy before their Confederates could join them. *Satricum*, which the *Latines* had deſtroyed in 377, had been rebuilt and repeopled by the *Volſci* in 405, and was now the rendezvous of their forces. Here *Valerius* gave them battle, put them to the rout, and, having taken the town, burnt it, ſparing only the Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*; after which he returned to *Rome*, and entered it in Triumph with four thouſand captives before his chariot. But according to the *Capitoline* Marbles, the Triumph of *Valerius* was not the moſt pompous ſhow with

Year of ROME CCCCVII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-five.

109th Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time.

The *Romans* were to be ſubject to the like reſtrictions with regard to the *Carthaginians* and their Allies. *Polyb.* B. 3. f. 24.

which

Year of ROME CCCCVIII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-four.

which the *Romans* were entertained in his Conſulate; the *Secular Games* [a], which had been inſtituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were now celebrated for the ſecond time.

310th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 28.

§. VI. THE *Romans* after the Victory over the *Volſci* were attacked by the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea; and the Republick being ſtruck with the ſame terror as if all *Latium* had declared againſt her, ordered the Conſuls *M. Fabius Dorſo* and *Servius Sulpicius Camerinus* to nominate a *Dictator*; the Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up, and the Levies made with the utmoſt rigour. *L. Furius* * *Camillus*, whom the Conſuls named to the *Dictatorſhip*, marched away to meet the enemy, and was greatly ſurprized, when he came within ſight of them, to find that they made no better appearance than a gang of robbers. Nevertheleſs, becauſe they had the hardineſs to be the aggreſſors, and readily to offer him battle when he appeared, he thought it expedient to ſeek aid of the Gods; and therefore in the heat of the conflict vowed a Temple to *Juno Moneta* [b]. The *Aurunci* were too weak to

* A ſecond time Dictator.

[a] The nature and origin of theſe Games will be ſpoken of hereafter.

[b] This name had been given to the Queen of the Gods a little before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that from the Temple of *Juno* had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had *admoniſhed* the *Romans* to avert the evils that threatened them, by ſacrificing a ſow with pig. Hence ſhe was called *Moneta*.

to reſiſt the *Roman* forces; *Furius* returned victorious to *Rome*; but, reſigning his Dictatorſhip, left to others the care of performing his vow. The Senate appointed *Duumvirs* to direct the building of the Temple, promiſed to the Goddeſs. It was erected on the *Capitol*, in the ſame place where the houſe of *Marcus Manlius* had ſtood. The Conſuls employed the *Dictator*'s army againſt the *Volſci*, and coming upon them unawares, took from them *Sora*.

Year of ROME CCCCIX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-three.

111th Conſulſhip.

The ſucceeding Conſuls, *C. Marcius* † *Rutilus* and *T. Manlius* ‡ *Imperioſus*, conſecrated this new Temple the firſt ‖ of *June*, a year after it had been vowed. This ceremony was immediately followed by prodigies; thick darkneſs in the daytime, and a ſhower of ſtones. After conſulting the Sibylline Books, the Senate judged it expedient (the multitude being full of ſuperſtitious fears) to name a *Dictator*, whoſe buſineſs ſhould be to order the ſolemnization of the feſtival called *Feriæ Latiæ*. *P. Valerius* being raiſed to that office, not only obliged the *Roman* Tribes, but the Nations bordering on the *Roman* Territory, to obſerve the Feſtival, appointing the day when each ſhould perform their devotions.

† A third time.
‡ A ſecond time.
‖ Macrob. Satur. Book 1. chap. 12. Oroſ. B. 3. ch. 7. Livy, B. 7. c. 28.

Severe ſentences (it is ſaid) were, at the ſuit of the *Ædiles*, paſſed, this year, againſt the Uſurers.

netta §. Afterwards the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became a publick Mint; and from thence the Medals, which were ſtampt for current coin in trade, took the name of *Moneta*, MONEY.

Cicero, de Divin. B. 1. n. 101.

§ From *monere*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *In the adminiſtration of* M. Valerius Corvus *(a third time* Conſul*) and* Cornelius Coſſus Arvina, *happens the* FIRST RUPTURE *between the* ROMANS *and* SAMNITES, *on occaſion of a war which the latter had carried on with ſucceſs againſt the people of* Capua *in* Campania. *The* Campanians, *to engage the* Romans *to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs, make a ſurrender of themſelves and their country to the Republick. Hereupon* Valerius *is directed to march an army into* Campania, *and* Cornelius *to carry the war into* Samnium. Valerius, *in an action with the* Samnites, *has the advantage.* §. II. Cornelius, *on the other hand, by an imprudent march brings his army into danger of being intirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by a Legionary Tribune, named* P. Decius Mus; *and preſently after, following the advice of the ſaid* Decius, *he gains a victory over the* Samnites. Decius *is rewarded with many honours.* §. III. Valerius *obtains a ſecond victory over the* Samnites *in* Campania. *Theſe ſucceſſes make the* Romans *reſpected abroad.*

A. of R. 410. Bef. J. C. 342.

§. I. THE *Dictator* having, for ſome reaſon (not mentioned by the Hiſtorians) reduced the Government to an *Inter-regnum*, the Preſident of it held the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, for electing new *Conſuls*. The choice fell (as the laſt

112th Conſulſhip.

last year) upon two *Patricians*. *M.* * *Valerius Corvus* was now raised a third time to the *Consular* dignity, and with him was joined *Cornelius Cossus*, surnamed *Arvina*. It was during their administration, that the *Romans* and *Samnites* first became enemies. A city to which the Republick had no relation at that time, sow'd those seeds of discord between the two nations, which produced a lasting hatred.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

112th Consulship.

* A third time.

The *Sidicini*, a people of *Ausonia*, situated beyond the *Liris*, being attack'd by the *Samnites*, who doubted not to make an easy conquest of their small territory, applied themselves to the *Campanians* for assistance. It was the interest of the latter to succour their distressed neighbours, and stop the progress of the *Samnites*; but they undertook the defence of the oppressed with more ostentation than real strength. For, though they possess'd a very fruitful country, and though commerce daily increased their riches, this wealth of private persons was the weakness of the State. Luxury reigned universally; the Houses were magnificent, but the City without Fortifications. The Merchant, vain of his wealth, mistook his vanity for courage, and looked down with scorn upon enemies that were not so rich as he.

Livy, B. 7. c. 29.

This contempt, ever imprudent, often fatal, of an enemy's strength, proved the ruin of *Capua*. The *Samnites*, who had a prospect of more glory and advantage in the conquest of the *Campanians* than of the *Sidicini*, turn'd their arms against the former, and having defeated them in two pitch'd battles, in which the vanquish'd lost all

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

all their youth, drew near to beſiege their City, that had now no other defence than weak walls, and inhabitants fill'd with conſternation.

The Magiſtrates in this diſtreſs had recourſe to *Rome*; they ſent a pompous embaſſy to implore the alliance and aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. Their ambaſſadors laid before the Senate all the motives both of glory and intereſt, which could engage the Republick to undertake their defence; the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would be conſiderably augmented by the conqueſt of ſo rich a city as *Capua*. They added, "*Such is the* "*miſery of our preſent condition, that if we are not* "*immediately ſuccour'd by our friends, we muſt fall* "*under the power of our enemies. If you defend us,* "*you will ſecure to yourſelves allies full of fidelity* "*and gratitude; we ſhall honour you as Founders* "*of our State, as our Parents, nay even as the im-* "*mortal Gods. If you abandon us, what will be the* "*conſequence we dread even to imagine.*" To this humble addreſs the Senate, whether out of regard to the faith of Treaties, as *Livy* repreſents it, or to draw more ſolid advantages from the aſſiſtance they ſhould give the *Campanians*, than a vain title and empty praiſes, anſwer'd the ambaſſadors by the Conſul *Valerius*, *That they thought the* CAMPANIANS *worthy of their aſſiſtance, and wiſh'd they could with honour ſuccour them; but that the Republick had an ancient alliance with the* Samnites, *which would not allow her to take arms againſt them! that the Senate however would ſend Deputies to their camp, to intreat them as Friends and Allies*

312th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 30.

c. 31.

to

to deſiſt from their hoſtilities. The *Campanian* Deputies had hitherto ſpoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*, but now not thinking the anſwer they had received ſufficient to build great hopes on, the chief of them (purſuant to the powers with which they had been inveſted before they left *Capua)* made this farther declaration: *Tho' the* Romans *refuſe to protect us and ours againſt violence and injuſtice, they certainly will not neglect to defend their own. The People of* Campania, *the City of* Capua, *our Lands, our Temples, every thing we have divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you,* O Conſcript Fathers, *and to the* ROMAN PEOPLE; *from this time forward therefore all our loſſes will be yours.* This ſaid, the ambaſſadors proſtrated themſelves on the threſhold of the Senate-houſe, and holding up their hands to the Conſuls, ſhed a flood of tears. Self-intereſt and compaſſion made new impreſſions on the minds of the Senators; they were moved, ſays *Livy*, at the ſad revolution to which human affairs are liable; to ſee a nation, late ſo rich and flouriſhing, ſo proud and luxurious, and from whom its neighbours had implored aſſiſtance againſt oppreſſion, reduced in a ſhort time to ſo dejected a ſtate of mind, as to give themſelves and all their poſſeſſions into the power of a foreign people. And as the donation was made in due form, by Ambaſſadors authoriſed to make it, the Senate did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuſe it. Without heſitation therefore they ſent away Deputies with inſtructions to intreat the *Samnites*,

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

112th Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

as friends, to ſpare a province which belong'd to *Rome*; and, in caſe of refuſal, to give them notice, in the name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnite* Magiſtrates were ſo far from being intimidated by the Majeſty of the *Roman* name, that, in the very preſence of the Deputies, they ordered the Commanders of their Troops to go inſtantly and ravage *Campania*.

412th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 7. c. 32.

This inſult filled both the *People* and *Senate* with indignation; and the *Romans* applied themſelves wholly to the making preparations for a war. All the due forms of demanding ſatisfaction and proclaiming war by the *Feciales* having been obſerved, the two *Conſuls* took the field, each at the head of an army. It fell to *Valerius*'s lot to command in *Campania*, and *Cornelius* was to enter the country of the *Samnites*. *Valerius* poſted his troops near mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*; and being there advantageouſly ſituated, he was in no haſte to come to a battle, but tried the *Samnites* in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, to learn their way of managing their arms. At length he aſſembled his troops, exhorted them *not to be afraid of new enemies, or of a new manner of fighting*; bid them remember *their former Victories, and by what General they were now commanded*; *that it was* Valerius, *who had thrice obtained the* Conſulſhip, not by Intrigue, or the Nobleneſs of his Birth (honour being now the reward of merit only) *but by his bravery*; reminded them, *that he was deſcended from the Great* Poplicola, *and had himſelf been always a* Poplicola *in the true meaning*

of the word. Go then, ROMANS, he added, *fall upon the enemy, and, in return for my affection to you, gain me the honours of a Triumph.*

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty two.

Never was Conſul more popular; never was General more tenderly beloved by his ſoldiers. He took a pleaſure in mixing with them, and ſharing the labours of the meaneſt among them. *Valerius* frequently made one at their diverſions, whether Wreſtling or Running, and did not diſdain to enter the liſts with a common ſoldier. He always kept his temper, and, whether victorious or vanquiſhed in theſe exerciſes, his countenance never changed. He was continually beſtowing favours, but with a juſt regard to times and perſons. He was eaſy in his private converſation, and gave every man full liberty to expreſs his ſentiments in his own manner; but as for himſelf, he ever maintained a certain dignity in his diſcourſes. It was natural for Troops to love and reſpect a General of this character. They march'd out of the camp with a more than uſual ardour for victory.

112th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 33.

When the two armies were drawn up, and fac'd each other, their numbers appear'd to be pretty equal. The battle was fought with wonderful reſolution on both ſides; but the *Samnites* began at length to give ground, when the night put an end to the conflict. The *Romans* had never engaged with more ſtubborn enemies, and perhaps would not have known that they had gained much advantage, if the *Samnites* had not deſerted their camp in the night.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

§. II. BUT whilſt *Valerius* was ſignaliſing his courage in *Campania*, his Collegue *Cornelius Coſſus*, who had been advantageouſly poſted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, left his camp (for what reaſon is unknown) and marched his Troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, all the roads of which were narrow, and out of which there was but one paſſage, and that through a deep valley. It was not in his power to alter his march, when he diſcover'd, that both the wood and the valley were lined with *Samnites*, and that he was in a manner ſurrounded by the enemy. In this diſtreſs *P. Decius Mus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, propoſed to the *Conſul* to detach him with the *Principes* and *Haſtati* of one *Legion*, to take poſſeſſion of an eminence which overlook'd the *Samnites*, and which they had neglected. He added, *When you ſee me poſted there, continue your march, without fear, through the valley; the enemy will not dare to attack you while they are expoſed to our darts.* The *Conſul* approved of the motion. *Decius* was not diſcover'd by the enemy till he had juſt gain'd the eminence; and then the *Samnites* were in ſuch a ſurpriſe, that they could come to no determination what to do, whether to attack the *Conſul*, or *Decius*. In the mean time, *Cornelius* took advantage of their irreſolution, and marched through the valley without moleſtation; and ſoon after the night came on.

112th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 34.

Decius had at firſt expected to be attacked by the enemy on his hill; and hoped by the advantage of the ground to be able to withſtand them.

When

When he found that they neither came to aſſail him, nor yet raiſed any Works between him and them, he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and exhorted them not to follow the enemy's example, but to form ſome deſign with expedition, and to execute it with courage. Then while itwas yet day-light, changing his habit with a private ſoldier, and being accompanied by his *Centurions*, whom he made do the like, that the enemy might not diſtinguiſh them to be Officers, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return ſilently to the main body, at the ſecond watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-aſſembled, he laid before them the neceſſity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to ſtay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were aſleep. The latter being univerſally approved, *Decius* led his troops down from the rock in great ſilence; but when they had got half way through the enemy's camp, a *Roman* ſoldier ſtruck his foot againſt the buckler of a *Samnite*, and the noiſe awakening a centinel, he gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* ran to arms, without knowing whether it were *Decius* with his troops, the *Conſul* with his army, or ſome *Samnite* of the camp, who had diſturbed their reſt. In the midſt of this uncertainty, *Decius* order'd his men to give a great ſhout, which ſo increaſed the conſternation of the *Samnites*, that they were in a manner frozen with fear, and the *Romans* eaſily made their eſcape,

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

112th Conſulſhip.

Livy. B. 7. c. 35.

c. 36.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

When they were come near the *Conſul*'s camp, *Decius* commanded them to halt: *It is not fit*, ſaid he, *that after ſo glorious an exploit you ſhould enter the camp in ſilence and darkneſs; reſt yourſelves therefore here till the light returns.* The next morning *Decius* and his troops marched into the camp, with the acclamations of the army, who called them their *Preſervers*, and gave thanks to the Gods for their happy return. But when the *Conſul* (having ſummon'd all his ſoldiers to hear his harangue) was beginning to make the Panegyrick of *Decius*, this brave Tribune adviſed him, inſtead of loſing time in Panegyricks, to march away immediately, and ſurpriſe the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had ſent out detachments in queſt of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* ſurpriſed the *Samnites* ſcatter'd about the hills and woods, and purſued them into their camp, where thirty thouſand of them were cut to pieces.

112th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 37.

This ſucceſs added much to the glory of *Decius*, who was honour'd with all the military rewards that were ever given to a Subaltern. Beſide a Crown of Gold, he received from the General a preſent of an hundred Oxen, and a white Bull with gilded horns. As for the ſoldiers of his detachment, the Conſul, in recompence of their merit, aſſigned them a double quantity of Corn, not only for the preſent, but during life, and he gave each of them two *Saga* [a]. The army

Aul. Gel. B. 5.

[a] The *Sagum* of the *Romans* was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and uſually faſten'd on the right ſhoulder with a buckle,

my likewiſe ſhewed their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *Obſidional Crown* [b]. And laſtly his own detachment, which he had brought ſafely out of the danger into which he had led them, beſtowed a mark of diſtinction on their leader, and crowned him with a *Civick* Crown, or a Crown of Oak-leaves, which was deemed the moſt honourable of all rewards. Thus adorn'd with three Crowns, he offered up his white Bull in ſacrifice to *Mars*, and diſtributed his hundred Oxen among the companions of his danger, and ſharers of his glory.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

112th Conſulſhip. Auth. of Lives of Illuſt. Men, c. 26.

§. III. BUT the campaign was not yet ended. The *Samnites* having recover'd their courage, and raiſed new forces, appeared before *Sueſſula*, a town ſituated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* march'd againſt them, and when he came within a ſmall diſtance of them, incamp'd his troops within as narrow a compaſs as he poſſibly could, and by this he deceiv'd the enemy; for they taking a view of his camp, and finding it ſo ſmall, imagined the *Romans* to be but weak in num-

Livy, B. 7. c. 37.

a buckle, or claſp. It was not different in ſhape from the *Chlamys* of the *Greeks*, and the *Paludamentum* of the Generals. The only difference between them was, that the *Paludamentum* was made of a richer ſtuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the *Sagum*. The adjoining Plate will ſhew the form of this garment, which the *Latin* authors call *Sagum*, and *Chlamys*, and *Paludamentum*.

[b] It was cuſtomary among the *Romans* for the garriſon of a beſieged place to crown the General who came to its relief, and raiſed the ſiege, with a Chaplet or Garland made of the Graſs growing in the place. It was called *Corona Obſidionalis*. A. Gell. L. 5. c. 6.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-two.

ber, and therefore, full of confidence, offer'd them battle. *Valerius* kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and made ſuch a ſhew of fear, that the *Samnite* ſoldiers were for immediately forcing his lines. However the officers reſtrained their impetuoſity; and believing that the *Romans* muſt ſoon want proviſions, they judged it a wiſe part to continue quiet in their camp, and watch them, not reflecting that the *Romans* were in a friend's country, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them. In ſhort, the *Samnites* themſelves were the firſt who wanted neceſſaries, and were obliged to ſend out large detachments to convoy proviſions to their camp. *Valerius* obſerving this, ſeized the moment when the greater part of the enemy's troops were diſperſed about the country, attacked their camp, forced it, made a great ſlaughter there, and then with his cavalry chaced the ſeveral parties that were abroad foraging. In this action the *Romans* took one hundred and ſeventy ſtandards from the enemy.

312th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 38.

The ſucceſſes of *Valerius* and *Cornelius* (to whom the Senate decreed the honours of the TRIUMPH) made the Republick reſpected abroad; the *Faliſci* enter'd into a treaty of alliance with her, and that whole *Lucumony* of *Hetruria* became *Roman.* The *Latines*, who had ſtood neuter to ſee the event of the war, commenced hoſtilities againſt the *Peligni* (a *Samnite* nation) as it were to aſſiſt the *Romans*; and laſtly, the *Carthaginians* ſent a compliment of congratulation to the Republick, with a preſent of a Gold crown of twenty-five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capi-*

Capitolinus, by way of thankſgiving for her victories.

Year of ROME CCCCX. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty two.

By a *Cenſus* taken this year it appear'd, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms amounted to 160,000.

112th Conſulſhip. Euſeb. Chron.

CHAP. IX.

Some Cohorts of Roman *ſoldiers, who had been left in* Capua *all the winter, plot to make that delightful City their own, and to ſettle there. The meaſures taken by one of the* Conſuls, *to defeat this ſcheme, occaſion a deſertion. The deſerters are joined by great numbers of maleconients from* Rome. *They force an old ſoldier, whom they find employ'd in huſbandry, to be their leader.* Valerius Corvus *is hereupon named* Dictator, *to march an army againſt the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from* Rome, *and prevails with them to ſubmit; yet they, beſides pardon, obtain ſome conceſſions from the Republick.*

THE *Conſuls* for the new year were *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, (now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time) and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician.* The latter incamped the army allotted him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched with another into *Campania.* A body of *Romans* had, at the requeſt of the *Campanians*, been left in *Capua* all the winter to defend them from the enemies incurſions. When *Marcius* arrived in that City, he perceived a great alteration in thoſe ſoldiers of the Republick. Diſcipline

Year of ROME CCCCXI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-one.

113th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 38, 39, &c.

Year of ROME CCCCXI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-one.

cipline had been neglected; their auſterity of manners was changed into effeminacy, and their ſobriety into intemperance. The charms of the climate and the air, which they breathed in idleneſs, had ſo far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own country mentioned; and the leſs, as at home they were oppreſſed by their creditors. They had enter'd into a plot among themſelves, to drive the natives out of *Campania*, ſeize it for their own poſſeſſion, and ſettle there. *Marcius* was informed of all this; and as he was a man of great experience and prudence, he made uſe of the gentleſt methods to induce them to drop their deſign. He check'd the ſedition for the preſent, by indulging them in the hope that they might put their ſcheme in execution whenever they pleaſed: For he cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that they ſhould ſpend the following winter in the ſame places. This hope prevailed likewiſe among the other *Romans* diſperſed up and down in *Campania*. In the mean time he contrived, under various pretences, to ſend away the moſt factious, at firſt one by one, and afterwards by whole *Cohorts*; yet ſo, that no ſoldier was diſmiſſed with diſgrace. But at length the Troops obſerved the General's conduct, and penetrated into his intentions. They preſently imagined, that their companions had been tried and condemn'd at *Rome*, and that they themſelves muſt undergo the ſame fate. In this apprehenſion, the firſt expedient that occurr'd to them was deſertion; and the ſoldiers of one *Cohort* were ſo bent upon it, that they ſtrait march-

113th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 39.

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ed away, and poſted themſelves near *Anxur* in *Lautulæ*, which was the name the *Romans* gave to the narrow paſs there, between the ſea on one ſide, and high mountains on the other. To theſe deſerters all thoſe whom the *Conſul* had diſmiſſed, or who were oppreſſed by debts, reſorted; and new deſertions following cloſe upon the firſt, the malecontents in a little time increaſed to a moderate army. But ſtill they were at a loſs for a leader. To ſupply this want, they ſurpriſed by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius* (an eminent ſoldier, who had retired from publick life to his farm) and forced him to go along with them, and lead them as their General to *Rome*.

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The City was ſo terrified at the approach of theſe Mutineers, that the Republick had recourſe to her uſual remedy in great emergencies; the *Conſuls* named a *Dictator*. *Valerius Corvus* was the man pitch'd upon, and he, at the head of an army, met the Rebels eight miles from *Rome*, in the *Appian Way*. The *Dictator* had always diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by a tender love for his ſoldiers; and theſe very Mutineers were a part of the victorious army which he had commanded the laſt year. He endeavoured therefore to bring them back to their duty by gentle methods; and, advancing into the middle ſpace between the two armies, expoſtulated with them in the ſofteſt terms on their ſtrange and unaccountable behaviour, ſo contrary not only to the tender regard they owed their country, but even to the grateful returns which he himſelf might have expected from them, conſidering how zealous he had ever been

Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 7. c. 40. Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

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been for their intereſts, and with what condeſcenſion and kindneſs he had always treated them in the higheſt ſtations to which he had been promoted, as well as in his private capacity. He told them, that his prayer to the Gods before he left *Rome* had not been to conquer them in battle, but to reconcile them to their country; and that he was ſo far from deſiring to reduce them by force of arms, that if they reſolved to fight, they muſt be the firſt to ſound the trumpet for the charge, and muſt begin the attack too, before he would draw his ſword againſt them. Then addreſſing himſelf to *Quinctius*, "Whether it be willingly or by force, T. QUINCTIUS, that you are engaged on that ſide, you will do well, in caſe of a battle, to retire into the hindmoſt ranks; it will be leſs diſhonourable for you even to turn your back, and fly before your fellow-citizens, than to fight againſt your country. But if it be only in order to peace and reconciliation that you appear at the head of your party, you may conſiſtently with your honour and duty continue there to be their interpreter. Speak then, make your demands, aſk any conditions that are reaſonable, and they ſhall be granted. Nay, it will be better to grant you even unreaſonable terms, than that we ſhould begin a deteſtable Civil War, and *Romans* imbrue their hands in *Roman* blood."

Livy, B. 7. c. 41.

Valerius had no ſooner ended, than *Quinctius* turning to the rebels, told them with tears in his eyes, that he could be of no ſervice to their cauſe, unleſs

unleſs in obtaining for them an advantageous peace; and he adviſed them to put themſelves intirely into the hands of the *Dictator*, who had a fatherly affection for them, and leave it to him to manage their intereſts at *Rome*. This motion was followed by a ſhout of approbation; and then the *Dictator* having given the Mutineers hopes of all reaſonable conceſſions, return'd to the City, and obtain'd from the Senate an Act of Grace, which was afterwards confirm'd by the People in *Comitia*. And in the ſame aſſembly, and at the requeſt of the Rebels, were paſſed ſome new Military Laws, which revenge alone inſpir'd them to demand. Particularly they inſiſted, that the pay of the Cavalry ſhould be reduced; and this becauſe not one ſingle man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some authors ſay, that at this time all uſury was aboliſh'd in *Rome*, by a Law made at the motion of *Genucius*, a *Tribune of the People*; and that the Commons paſs'd likewiſe theſe other Laws; That no man ſhould have the ſame office twice within ten years, or poſſeſs two different offices in the ſame year; and, that the two *Conſuls* might be both choſen out of the *Plebeians*. If theſe articles were obtained at this time, it is evident, that the Rebel army muſt have been exceedingly formidable. *Livy* tells us, that the hiſtorians differ in moſt of the circumſtances of this event.

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113th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. c. 42.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

§. I. Privernum *revolts, but is quickly reduced. The* Samnites *turn their arms once more againſt the* Sidicini, *who being refuſed ſuccour by the* Senate *at* Rome, *give themſelves to the* Latines, *already in arms. The* Campanians *join the* Latines. *An army formed of theſe three nations enters* Samnium. §. II. *The* Samnites *ſend an embaſſy to the* Republick *to complain of her ſuffering the* Latines *and* Campanians *to commit hoſtilities in* Samnium. *They receive an unſatisfactory anſwer.* (Alexander *King of* Epirus, *uncle of* Alexander *the Great, comes into* Italy, *and concludes a treaty of friendſhip with* Rome.) §. III. *The* Latines *demand of the* Romans *as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations,* That one of the Conſuls and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future choſen out of the LATINES. *This demand is rejected, and war is declared.* §. IV. Manlius *and* Decius, *the two* Conſuls, *have one and the ſame dream concerning the event of the war.* §. V. Manlius *cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded, for a breach of diſcipline.* §. VI. *The* Romans *come to a battle with the* Latines. Decius, *to ſecure the victory to his troops, devotes himſelf to death. The* Latines *are totally routed.* Manlius *gives them a ſecond overthrow, after which both they and the* Campanians *ſubmit.* §. VII. *The next year,* T. Æmilius, *the* Patrician Conſul, *being directed by the* Senate *to name a* Dictator, *names*

names Q. Publilius, *his* Plebeian Collegue; *who obtains ſome new laws in favour of the* Plebeians. §. VIII. *The* Romans *determine the fate of the ſeveral conquered cities. The* Latines, *from being* Allies, *are made* Subjects *of* Rome.

§. I. THUS was tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in *Rome*; but the condeſcenſions ſhewn to rebels, and the war in which the Republick was engaged with the *Samnites*, induced ſome of her neighbours to fall off from her alliance. The *Privernates*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius Hipſæus* and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, made it appear, by their revolt, that the dread of her power was diminiſhed. However, the Conſul *Plautius*, without difficulty, ſubdued theſe Enemies: He defeated them in battle, took *Privernum*, and, though he reſtored it to the inhabitants, deprived them of two thirds of their Lands, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in the town. Thence he marched againſt the *Volſci* of *Antium*, and had a bloody engagement with them near *Satricum*: A ſudden ſtorm put an end to it before victory had declared for either ſide. It was the purpoſe of the *Romans* to renew the fight the next day; but the *Antiates* having numbered their dead, and being diſheartened by the great loſs of men they had ſuſtained, retired in the night to *Antium*, with the ſame haſte as if they had been vanquiſhed in the battle.

Year of ROME CCCCXII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty.

114th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 7. c. 42.

* A ſecond time. Livy, B. 8. c. 1.

The other Conſul, *Æmilius*, who led his forces into the country of the *Samnites*, and laid it waſte, met

Year of ROME ccccxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty.

met with no oppoſition: They ſued to him for a peace. He referred the Ambaſſadors to the Senate, of whom they requeſted two things; peace with *Rome*, and permiſſion to make war on the *Sidicini*. Both theſe requeſts they obtained; and the *Roman* army returned home, after receiving from the *Samnites* a year's pay and three months proviſions, purſuant to their agreement with the Conſul, when he granted them a truce till their ambaſſadors ſhould come back from *Rome*.

114th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 2.

And now the *Samnites* turned their forces againſt the *Sidicini*. Theſe, after the example of the *Campanians* in the like diſtreſs, had recourſe to the *Roman* Republick for protection, offering to make an abſolute ſurrendry to her of their Country and their Liberty: But the Senate with ſcorn rejected the offer as made too late, and as the mere effect of extreme neceſſity: Whereupon the *Sidicini* immediately gave themſelves to the *Latines*, who, of their own motion, had already taken arms to attack the *Samnites*. Nor did the *Campanians* forbear to join the *Latines* in this war, ſo much deeper an impreſſion did their minds retain of the injuries they had received from the *Samnites*, than of the benefits they had received from the *Romans*.

A conſiderable army, formed out of theſe three nations, entered *Samnium*, laying waſte all before them; and in ſome ſlight engagements they had the advantage: Nevertheleſs their commander, who was a *Latine*, not caring to leſſen his ſtrength (deſtined to more important ſervice) by too frequent

quent ſkirmiſhes, withdrew his forces very ſoon out of the enemies country.

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§. II. THE retreat of the confederates gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of ſending Ambaſſadors to *Rome*: Who, when admitted by the Senate to an audience, complained of their hard fortune, in that they ſuffered no leſs ſince their alliance with the *Romans*, than they had done when in enmity with them; and humbly prayed, that the *Romans* would be ſatisfied with having ſnatched out of their hands a certain victory over the *Campanians* and *Sidicini*, and not ſuffer them alſo to be ſubdued by thoſe the moſt baſe and cowardly People of all *Italy*. They added, *If the* Latines *and* Campanians *are ſubject to you, why don't you forbid them to enter our country in a hoſtile manner? If they are rebels, why don't you chaſtiſe them?* Theſe queſtions puzzled the Senators, unwilling to own that they had no longer any power over the *Latines*, and fearing at the ſame time to alienate them intirely by a cenſure on their proceedings. The Conſul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the Senate gave this ambiguous anſwer: *The* Campanians *are our ſubjects, and we will force them to deſiſt from troubling you: But, as for the* Latines, *they are not reſtrained by our Treaty of Alliance with them from making war againſt whom they pleaſe:* An anſwer which as it left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty with relation to the intentions of the Republick, ſo it wholly alienated the *Campanians* by the menace it contained; and, as for the *Latines*, they grew ſo proud upon it, as to imagine they could now de-

114th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 8. c. 3.

Year of ROME CCCCXII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty.

mand nothing which the *Romans* would dare to refuſe. Under colour of preparing to carry on the war with the *Samnites*, they convened frequent aſſemblies of their Chiefs, where they formed deſigns againſt *Rome*, in all which the *Campanians* took part. The *Roman* Senate, though the confederates uſed all endeavours to keep their conſultations ſecret, received full information of what was doing; and, to the end that the Conſuls who would have the management of ſo important a war, might be the ſooner in commiſſion, the *Fathers* obliged the preſent to abdicate before the expiration of their year: And becauſe it was doubtful whether theſe Conſuls quitting their Magiſtracy before the uſual time, could, conſiſtently with true religion, hold the *Comitia* for electing their ſucceſſors, the government was reduced to an *Inter-regnum*.

114th Conſulſhip.

§. III. *M. FABIUS* (the ſecond *Inter-rex*) having convened the Centuries, they choſe *T. Manlius* * *Torquatus* and *Decius Mus* to be *Conſuls* for the new year[a]. And now, although the *Romans* had no doubt of the defection of their allies, and eſpecially of the *Latines*, yet the *Con-*

* A third time.

[a] *Livy* tells us (by miſtake, as *Dodwell* thinks) that *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, and brother of *Olympias*, mother of *Alexander the Great*, came *at this time* into *Italy*, and would probably have attacked the *Romans*, had he ſucceeded in his firſt enterpriſes. *Aulus Gellius* (B. 17. c. 21.) reports that this prince uſed to ſay, that the country he propoſed to conquer was a country of *Men*; whereas the provinces which his nephew *Alexander* went to ſubdue were inhabited by *Women* only.

ſcript

ſcript Fathers cited ten of the chief leaders of the *Latines* to appear at *Rome*, to receive the orders of the Republick. The *Latines* had choſen themſelves two *Prætors*, or Preſidents of their great Council (who were likewiſe to be the managers of the war) *L. Annius* and *L. Numicius*, the one a native of *Setia*, the other of *Circeii*, two *Roman* colonies. Theſe men being eſpecially ſummoned by name, aſſembled the Council, acquainted them with the ſummons, pointed out the heads upon which they preſumed their examination would turn, and aſked what anſwer they ſhould make to the *Roman* Senate. The members of the Diet were divided in opinion; upon which *Annius* in a long harangue laid before them their own ſtrength and flouriſhing condition, the credit they had with their neighbours, ſo as to be able to engage even the *Roman* colonies in their cauſe; the preſent weakneſs of the Republick, ſufficiently diſcovered in the anſwer given by the Senate to the *Samnite* Deputies; and in concluſion exhorted the aſſembly to ſhake off all dependance upon *Rome*, and even to refuſe an alliance with her, unleſs ſhe would conſent, that one of her *Conſuls* and the half of her *Senate* ſhould for the future be choſen out of the *Latines*: And he offered to go in perſon to *Rome*, and make this demand in the preſence of the *Senate* and *People*, and even of *Jupiter Capitolinus* himſelf.

Year of ROME cccexiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-nine.

115th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 3, 4.

This motion being univerſally applauded, *Annius* with nine more Ambaſſadors appear'd ſoon after in preſence of the *Conſcript Fathers* aſſembled in the *Capitol*. The *Conſul Manlius* ſpoke

c. 5.

Year of ROME cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-nine.

115th Conſulſhip.

firſt, and in the name of the Senate forbad the *Latines* to make war againſt the *Samnites*. To this *Annius*, more like a conqueror who had taken the *Capitol* by force of arms, than an Ambaſſador protected by the law of nations, anſwer'd, *That the* Romans *had choſen an ill time to give their orders in ſuch an arbitrary manner, when the* Latines *were in nothing inferior to them. That in a union between two nations, where the ſtrength on both ſides was equal, the authority likewiſe ſhould be equally ſhared*; and then he made the demand before-mentioned: which ſo highly provoked the *Conſul*, a man no leſs haughty and paſſionate than the *Latine Prætor*, that not being able to contain his anger, he loudly declared, *That if the Conſcript Fathers ſhould ever fall into ſuch a madneſs, as to receive the law from a Citizen of* Setia, *he would himſelf enter the Senate-houſe ſword in hand, and kill every* Latine *he ſhould find there.* Then turning to the ſtatue of *Jupiter*, he invoked the God to be witneſs of the pride and ingratitude of the *Latines*.

Livy, B. 8. c. 6.

The reſt of the Senators joined their exclamations full of diſdain to thoſe of the *Conſul*; while *Annius*, as ſome ſay, in return to their repeated invocations of the Gods, who had been witneſſes of the leagues and treaties between the Republick and the *Latines*, raiſed his voice, and ſcoffed at the *Roman Jupiter*. Certain it is, that he left the Senate-houſe in a rage, and retired with ſuch precipitation, that ſtumbling at the threſhold of the door he fell from the top of the ſteps to the bottom, and for ſome time lay ſenſeleſs. *Manlius* coming, by the Senate's order, to diſmiſs the Am-

baſſadors, and ſeeing *Annius* proſtrate on the ground, loudly broke out into theſe expreſſions: *It goes well! — Gods! You begin a holy war! — Yes, There is a Power above! Thou haſt a Being,* Great Jupiter! *And it is not without reaſon that we have conſecrated this temple to thee, as the Father of Gods and Men! —— Why,* Romans, *Why,* Conſcript Fathers, *do we delay one moment to take arms, when we have the Gods for our leaders? I will lay the legions of the* Latines *as low, as their Ambaſſador now lies before you.* Theſe words, highly applauded by the People, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in them, that the care of the Magiſtrates, rather than any regard to the law of Nations, preſerved the Ambaſſadors from being inſulted at their departure.

Year of ROME cccexiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-nine.

335th Conſulſhip.

§. IV. THE Senate having paſſed a decree for a war with the *Latines*, the Conſuls raiſed two armies, marched them through the Countries of the *Marci* and *Peligni*, and being joined by the *Samnites*, incamped in the neighbourhood of *Capua*, where the forces of the *Latines* and their Confederates were aſſembled. The night following, *Manlius* and *Decius* are ſaid to have ſeen, in their ſleep, a man of a gigantick ſtature and majeſtick look, who told them, *That the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whoſe General ſhould devote himſelf to the* Dii Manes. As ſoon as it was day the Conſuls communicated their dreams to each other; expiatory ſacrifices were offered to avert the anger of the Gods; and the *Aruſpices* being conſulted, pretended to make ſuch diſcoveries in the entrails of the victims, as

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confirmed the dreams. Hereupon, the *Lieutenants*, and the *Tribunes of the ſoldiers*, being called together, the will of the Gods was imparted to them, leſt the voluntary death (not known to be ſuch) of a Conſul ſhould ſtrike a terror into the army; and it was agreed between the two Conſuls, that he, whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, and devote himſelf to certain death, to ſave his country.

115th Conſulſhip.

§. V. IN the ſame council of war it was determin'd, that the ancient ſtrict diſcipline ſhould be obſerved, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight with the enemy out of his rank; and this was proclaimed through all the camp; a precaution extremely neceſſary at this time, when the *Romans* were at war with the *Latines*, with whom they were perſonally acquainted (having often ſerved together) who ſpoke the ſame language, were arm'd after the ſame manner, and obſerv'd the ſame way of fighting, and of marſhalling their troops. It happened ſoon after, that young *Manlius*, the *Conſul*'s ſon, being at the head of a detachment of horſe, met an advanced ſquadron of the enemy, whoſe Commander knowing him, challenged him to ſingle combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late order of the Generals, accepted the challenge, kill'd his adverſary, ſtript him of his armour, and, loaded with the glorious ſpoils, came ſtrait to his father's tent: *Father, I have followed your example, and proved myſelf your ſon: I was challenged, like you, by an enemy to ſingle combat*; *I have*

Livy, B. 8. c. 7.

Year of ROME cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-nine.

115th Conſulſhip.

I have ſlain him, and I here lay his ſpoils at your feet. The *Conſul* turned his back upon his ſon, ordered the troops to be aſſembled, and then in their preſence made him this reply: *Since you,* Titus Manlius, *in contempt of the Conſular Dignity and the Authority of a Father, and in contradiction to my expreſs orders, have been ſo raſh as to leave your rank to fight the enemy; ſince you have deſtroyed, as far as in you lay, that Military Diſcipline which has been hitherto the ſupport of the* Roman *People, and reduced me to the hard neceſſity of forgetting myſelf and mine, or the regard I owe to the publick intereſt,* Rome *muſt not ſuffer the puniſhment of your fault; we muſt expiate it ourſelves. A ſad example ſhall we be, but a wholeſome one to the youth of the* Roman *Soldiery. As for me, both the innate affection of a Father for a Son, and that ſpecimen which thou, deceived by a vain appearance of honour, haſt given of thy valour, move me exceedingly: But ſince either the* Conſular *Authority muſt be eſtabliſhed by thy death, or quite deſtroyed by thy impunity, I cannot think, if there be any of the* Manlian *blood in thee, thou wilt be backward to repair the breach thou haſt made in the Military Diſcipline, by undergoing the puniſhment due to thy offence.* This ſaid, he order'd [a] the *Lictors* to tie him to a ſtake and ſtrike off his head. All preſent were ſtunn'd at the cruel ſentence, as if it had been pronounced againſt themſelves; and if they continued quiet, it was more out of fear and aſtoniſhment than modeſty. And no ſooner was the

[a] According to *Zonaras*, B. 7. *Manlius* firſt crowned his ſon as a Victor.

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115th Conſulſhip.

young man beheaded, and his blood ſeen to guſh out, than, coming to themſelves, they vented their anger in imprecations and invectives againſt the Father: But, as to the ſon, they covered his dead body with the ſpoils of the *Latine*, whom he had vanquiſhed, and expreſſed their affection for him by the moſt pompous obſequies which they could, in the field, perform to his honour. Extreme and exceſſive doubtleſs was this ſeverity of *Manlius:* Nevertheleſs, it had this good effect, that it made his army wonderfully tractable for the future, and ſtrictly obſervant of diſcipline, which proved of great moment in the general engagement with the enemy a few days after.

Livy, B. 8. c. 8.

§. VI. THE *Romans* on a day of battle drew up their ſoldiers in three lines, diſtinguiſh'd by the names of the HASTATI, the PRINCIPES, and the TRIARII.

The HASTATI, who compoſed the firſt line, had their name from the javelins called *Haſtæ* which they bore.

Varro, B. 4. de Ling. Lat.

The PRINCIPES, who made the ſecond line, were ſo call'd becauſe originally they were placed in the front of the battle, and *began* [b] the attack; and in thoſe times they were generally the richeſt and the nobleſt of the *Roman* youth. They fought with ſwords.

The TRIARII were ſo named becauſe they made the *Third* line. They were commonly veterans, or hardy old ſoldiers, the main ſtrength

[b] Mr. *Kennet* thinks it probable, that this was before the inſtitution of the *Haſtati*.

and

and hopes of their party. They bore the javelin called *Pilum*, whence they had the name of *Pilani Milites*; and for the ſame reaſon the ſoldiers of the two lines *before* them had that of *Antepilani* [c].

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115th Conſulſhip.

Originally

[c] How differently ſoever the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* might be arm'd in theſe times, they afterwards bore much the ſame arms; and therefore *Polybius* has not divided them in his deſcription, but ſpeaks of them all together.

In *Polybius*'s time, a Legion of 4000 men had 600 *Triarii*, 1200 *Principes*, and as many *Haſtati*; the reſt were VELITES. If the Legion happen'd to be more numerous, each of the three laſt corps was increaſed in proportion, but the TRIARII never exceeded 600.

The VELITES were commonly young men of mean condition; they had their name *à Volando*, or *à Velocitate*, from their ſwiftneſs or expedition. They hover'd in looſe order before the army. Their arms were

The *Spaniſh Sword*, which the *Romans* thought of the beſt ſhape and temper, and fitteſt for execution, being ſomething like the *Turkiſh* Scymitar, but more ſharp at the point. The ſoldiers wore it on their right ſide.

Haſtæ, or light and ſlender javelins. Each man had ſeven.

Parma, a kind of round buckler 3 feet in diameter, of wood cover'd with leather.

Galerus, a light caſque for their head, generally made of the ſkin of ſome wild beaſt.

The arms of the HASTATI, PRINCIPES, and TRIARII (beſide the ſword abovementioned) were the *Scutum*, the *Pilum*, the *Galea*, and the *Lorica*.

The *Scutum* was a buckler of wood, the parts being joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole cover'd with a bull's hide. An iron plate went about it without to keep off blows, and another within to hinder it from taking any damage by lying on the ground. In the middle was an iron Boſs or *Umbo* jutting out, very ſerviceable to glance off ſtones and darts, and ſometimes to preſs violently upon the enemy, and drive all before them. They are to be diſtinguiſh'd

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Originally each of theſe three lines was intire, there were no breaks or intervals between the *Manipuli* or companies that compoſed it; nor were there any void ſpaces left between the lines, ſo

---

115th Conſulſhip.

guiſh'd from the *Clypei*, which were leſs, and quite round, belonging more properly to other nations, tho' for ſome little time uſed by the *Romans*. The *Scuta* themſelves were of two kinds; the *Ovata* and the *Imbricata*; the former is a plain oval figure, the other oblong, and bending inward like half a cylinder. *Polybius* makes the *Scuta* four feet long, and *Plutarch* * calls them ποδήρεις, *reaching down to the Feet.* And 'tis very probable that they cover'd almoſt the whole body, ſince in *Livy* † we meet with ſoldiers who ſtood on the guard, ſometimes ſleeping with their head on their ſhield, having fix'd the other part of it on the earth.

The *Pilum* was a miſſive weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-ſquare, but ſometimes round, compoſed of a piece of wood about three cubits long, and a ſlip of iron of the ſame length, hooked and jagged at the end. They took abundance of care in joining the two parts together, and did it ſo artificially, that 'twould ſooner break in the iron itſelf than in the joint. Every man had two of theſe *Pila*; and this number the Poets allude to:

Bina manu late criſpans haſtilia ferro.

VIRG. *Æn.* i. 317.

Quæ duo ſola manu geſtans acclivia monti
Fixerat, intorquet jacula———

STATIUS, *Theb.* 2.

C. ‡ *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* war contrived theſe *Pila* after a new faſhion; for before, where the wood was join'd to the iron, it was made faſt with two iron pins; now *Marius* let one of them alone as it was, and pulling out the other,

* *Plut.* in *P. Æmil.* † B. 44. ‡ *Plut.* in *Mar.*

put

ſo that the whole body of infantry was cloſe and compact, like the *Macedonian Phalanx*.

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But at the time of this war of the *Romans* with the *Latines*, the method of marſhalling the troops was different.

Be-

115th Conſulſhip. Juſtus Lipſius de Mil. Rom. B. 4. c. 1.

put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it ſo, that when 'twas ſtuck in the enemies ſhield, it ſhould not ſtand out-right as formerly; but the wooden peg breaking, the iron ſhould bend, and ſo the javelin ſticking faſt by its crooked point, ſhould weigh down the ſhield.

The *Galea* was a Head-piece, or Morrion, coming down to the ſhoulders, commonly of braſs.

The *Lorica* was a Brigandine, or Coat of Mail, generally made of leather, and work'd over with little hooks of iron, and ſometimes adorn'd with ſmall *ſcales* of thin gold; as we find in *Virgil*;

Loricam conſertam hamis. Æn. iii. 467.

And,

Nec duplici ſquamâ lorica fidelis & auro.

Æn. ix. 707.

Sometimes the *Loricæ* were a ſort of Linen Caſſocks, ſuch as *Suetonius* attributes to *Galba*, and like that of *Alexander* in *Plutarch*; or thoſe of the *Spaniſh* troops deſcribed by *Polybius* in his account of the battle of *Cannæ*.

The poorer ſoldiers, who were rated under a thouſand Drachms, inſtead of this Brigandine, wore a *Pectorale* or breaſt-plate of thin braſs about twelve fingers ſquare; and this, with what have been already deſcribed, render'd them compleatly armed; unleſs we add the *Ocreæ*, or Greaves, which they wore on their legs; which perhaps they borrowed (as many other cuſtoms) from the *Grecians*, ſo well known by the title of—ἐυκνημίδες Ἀχαιοι.

In the elder times of the *Romans*, their horſe uſed only a round ſhield, with a helmet on their head, and a couple of javelins in their hands, great part of their body being left with-

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115th Conſulſhip.

Between the firſt and ſecond lines was a ſpace of fifty feet; and the TRIARII were drawn up at the diſtance of an hundred feet behind the PRINCIPES.

And as ſpaces were left between the lines, ſo likewiſe between the MANIPULI, or companies of each line. But theſe openings were not ſo diſpoſed, as to yield a *direct* paſſage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The *Manipuli* of the ſecond line ſtood behind the openings of the firſt, and the *Manipuli* of the third behind thoſe of the ſecond, ſo that the order of the whole reſembled that of a *Quincunx*.

When the HASTATI happened to be overpower'd, they retired ſoftly toward the PRINCIPES, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and together with them renewed the fight. But if the PRINCIPES and the HASTATI thus joined were too weak to ſuſtain the fury of the battle, they all fell back into the wider intervals of the TRIARII; and then all together being united into a firm maſs, they made another effort much more impetuous than any before: If this aſſault proved ineffectual, the day was intirely loſt as to the Foot, there being no farther reſerves [a].

Livy

without defence. But, as ſoon as they found the great inconveniencies to which they were hereby expoſed, they began to arm themſelves like the *Grecian* Horſe, or much like their own Foot, only their ſhield was a little ſhorter and ſquarer, and their lance or javelin thicker, with ſpikes at each end, that if one miſcarried, the other might be ſerviceable. *Kenn.* Antiq. P. II. B. IV. Ch. IX.

[a] The ſtratagem of rallying thus by means of theſe openings

Livy ſpeaks of the RORARII and the ACCENSI, as two corps of troops that were a kind of ſupernumeraries to the TRIARII, but not ſoldiers equal to them for ſtrength or courage. Year of ROME cccexiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred forty-nine.

In the middle of the ſpace between the PRINCIPES and the TRIARII, where ſtood the *Roman* Eagles, the Conſuls and Lieutenant Generals took their poſts. Behind the Generals, the TRIARII (while the *Haſtati* and *Principes* were fighting) kept firm with their right knees on the ground, their great bucklers on their ſhoulders, and reſting themſelves on their ſpears, which, pointing upwards, form'd a kind of Paliſade before them. 115th Conſulſhip.

As for the *Roman* Cavalry, they were always poſted at the two corners of the army, like wings on a body, and fought ſometimes on foot and ſometimes on horſeback, like our Dragoons. At this time there were but 300 to a Legion of 5000 Foot. Of four ſuch Legions and 1200 Horſe, the preſent army conſiſted.

The Conſuls *Manlius* and *Decius*, before they drew their troops out of the camp, offer'd ſacrifi- Livy, B. 8. c. 9.

ings in the lines, has been reckoned almoſt the whole art and ſecret of the *Roman* diſcipline, and it was almoſt impoſſible it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, if duly obſerved: For fortune, in every engagement, muſt have failed them three ſeveral times, before they could be routed; and the enemy muſt have had the ſtrength and reſolution to overcome them in three ſeveral encounters for the deciſion of one battle; whereas moſt other nations, and even the *Grecians* themſelves, drawing up their whole army as it were in one front, truſted themſelves and their fortunes to the ſucceſs of a ſingle charge. *Kennet's* Antiq. Part II. Book IV. Ch. X.

ces

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ces to the Gods. It is ſaid that the *Aruſpex* ſhew'd to *Decius* the liver of his victim wounded in the friendly [a] ſide (a bad omen for him;) but declared that the beaſt had no other mark of being unacceptable to the Gods; and that, as to *Manlius*'s victim, the ſigns were as favourable as could be wiſh'd. *'Tis enough, ſaid* DECIUS; *all is well, if my Collegue has engaged the Gods to be propitious to* HIM.

115th Conſulſhip.

When the day of battle came, *Manlius* commanded the right wing, *Decius* the left. It was fought on both ſides at firſt with equal ſtrength and courage; but at length the *Roman Haſtati* of the left wing were forced to give ground, and retire into the intervals of the *Principes*. This diſadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his Collegue on occaſion of their dreams. He call'd out therefore to *Valerius* the *Pontifex Maximus*, to perform on him the ceremony of Conſecration, in order to his *Devotement* to death to ſave his Legions. *Valerius* bid him put on his *Prætexta* [b], cover his head, put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and then ſtanding with both his feet upon his javelin repeat after him the following words: "*O Janus, Jupi-*" *ter*, Father *Mars*, *Quirinus*, *Bellona*; O ye "*Lares*, ye *Novenſiles* [c], ye Deified * Heroes,

* Indigetes.

[a] *A familiari parte.* The other was the *Enemy*'s ſide of the liver, where their Doom was to be read.

[b] White Robe, bordered with purple.

[c] Nine Deities, according to *Varro*, brought to *Rome* by the *Sabines*; viz. *Lara*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, *Health*. Some take them to be the nine Muſes. *C. & R.*

"ye

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115th Conſulſhip.

"ye Gods who have power over us and our ene-
"mies, ye Gods of Hell, I honour you, invoke
"you, and humbly intreat you to proſper the
"arms of the *Roman* People, and to ſtrike their
"enemies with terror, affright, and death; and
"I do for the ſafety of the *Roman* People and
"their Legions *devote* myſelf, and with myſelf,
"the Legions and Auxiliaries of our enemies, to
"the Infernal Gods and the Goddeſs of the
"Earth."

Having made this prayer, he order'd his *Lictors* to go in all haſte, and tell his Collegue *Manlius*, that he had *devoted* himſelf for the ſafety of the *Roman* army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it about him, he mounted his horſe and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemies battalions. *Livy* ſays, that he appeared to them more than human, and that at the ſight of him, they ſeemed as if they were planet-ſtruck; and that he was no ſooner fallen to the ground with numberleſs wounds, than the *Latine* Cohorts all around him diſperſed themſelves [a] and fled. As for the *Haſtati* and *Principes* of the *Roman* left wing, they inſtantly renewed the charge, like men who had juſt received the ſignal to begin the

[a] *Cicero* (B. 3. de Nat. Deor.) derides that ſuperſtitious credulity, which aſcribed ſuch wonderful effects to theſe *Devotements.* He could not conceive, how men of ſenſe could form to themſelves any ſuch beings as miſchievous Gods, who thirſted after human blood. So that he looked on theſe voluntary *Devotements* as no more at bottom than heroick acts of valour, or the laſt efforts of Generals, who, when their troops were diſheartened and broken, threw themſelves into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, in order to engage their ſoldiers to follow them. *C. & R.*

fight;

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fight; and they were ſtrengthened by the *Rorarii* from the rear; the *Triarii*, with their right knees on the ground, ſtill keeping their poſt.

The battle continued, and the *Latines*, ſuperior in number, had the better in other parts of the field, when the news was brought to *Manlius* of his Collegue's death. Having let fall ſome tears, and given him the praiſes due, he remained a ſhort moment in doubt, whether he ſhould then give the ſignal for the *Triarii* to riſe; but judging it more prudent to reſerve them for the finiſhing blow, he commanded the *Accenſi* [b] from the rear to the van. The enemy taking theſe freſh troops to be the *Roman Triarii*, inſtantly order'd their own *Triarii* to the charge; and this proved the loſs of the battle to the *Latines*: For when they had wearied themſelves, and broken or blunted their weapons in repulſing the *Romans* once more, and when, after they had repulſed what they fancied to be the laſt reſerve of their enemies, they thought themſelves ſure of the victory, the *Roman Triarii* by order of *Manlius* appeared on a ſudden, as if they had ſtarted out of the ground. Their arms were ſhining and their ſtrength intire. Having received the *Haſtati* and *Principes* into the intervals of their ranks, they firſt gave a ſhout that diſmayed the enemy, and then fell upon them with ſuch fury, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a fourth part of their army eſcaped.

115th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 10.

[b] Father *Rouillé* on this occaſion ſpeaks of the *Accenſi*, as light-arm'd ſoldiers, who fought with ſlings; but if ſo, how could the *Latines* miſtake them for the *Roman Triarii*?

This

This battle was fought not far from mount *Veſuvius.* During the action the *Samnites*, drawn up in *Battalia*, at the foot of that Mountain, ſerved to keep the *Latines* in fear: Or perhaps (as ſome writers reported) they came to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, after the conflict was over. *Manlius* acquired great honour by his conduct in this important day; both *Latines* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in opinion, that which ever army he had commanded muſt have been victorious. Year of ROME cccexiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-nine. 115th Conſulſhip.

Thoſe of the *Latines* who eſcaped the ſlaughter, and were ſcattered about the country, collected themſelves ſoon after into one body, and took ſhelter at *Veſcia*, near the *Liris.* Here *Numicius* their General exhorted and encouraged them to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*; and his motion was approved. In order to get an augmentation of his troops, he artfully cauſed letters to be ſpread about in *Latium*, and the country of the *Volſci*, repreſenting the flight of the *Latines* as only an honourable retreat, and by this means he drew to his camp many, who had not aſſiſted at the late action; and having thus haſtily formed a new army, he marched immediately away, taking the road to *Capua.* *Manlius*, informed of the enemy's motions, met them in their march, gave them another overthrow, and then enter'd *Latium* to lay it waſte. He met with no reſiſtance; the *Latine* towns ſurrender'd at diſcretion, as did *Privernum* in the territory of the *Volſci.* *Campania* was likewiſe totally brought into ſubjection. The *Conſul* diſ- Livy, B. 8. c. 11.

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115th Conſulſhip.

poſſeſſed the *Campanians*, *Latines*, and *Privernates* of their eſtates, and diſtributed them among the Commons of *Rome*. However, the *Latines* and *Campanians* were not all deprived of their eſtates without diſtinction. The *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Knights, to the number of ſixteen hundred, had not been concerned in the revolt; and they were therefore continued in their poſſeſſions and privileges; nay, the latter were made *Citizens* of *Rome*, but without right of ſuffrage; and an annual penſion of 450 [a] *Denarii* was aſſigned to each of them out of the publick revenues of *Campania*.

Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 8. c. 12.

Manlius had deſerved the honours of a Triumph, and doubtleſs he obtained them (though *Livy* ſays nothing of it.) But he could not recover the good-will of the *Roman* youth; they bore him an implacable hatred for his ſeverity, none but the old men went out to meet him at his return to *Rome*. Soon after, he fell ſick; and as a *Roman* General was wanted in the field, to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the *Antiates*, he named to the Dictatorſhip *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who appointed *L. Papirius Curſor* to be his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* kept his troops ſome months in the field at free quarter, and then returned to the city, to preſide at the election of new *Conſuls*.

§. VII. IT had been cuſtomary, for ſome time paſt, to obſerve the law which directed to chuſe one of the two *Conſuls* out of the *Plebeians*; and now *Q. Publilius*, a *Plebeian*, was joined

[a] 14*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* ½. *Arbuthnot.*

with

with *Tib. Æmilius*, a *Patrician*, in the Government. The former proving ſucceſsful in an expedition againſt a body of *Latines* (rebelling on account of their lands being taken from them) obtained the honours of a Triumph. Upon which *Æmilius*, jealous of his Collegue's glory, demanded the ſame honours, as the reward for ſome advantage he had gained over another body of *Latines* aſſembled at *Pedum*, though he had not finiſhed his expedition; but the *Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, till he ſhould take that place either by ſurrendry or aſſault, a refuſal ſo highly reſented by *Æmilius*, that never did any *Tribune of the Commons* inveigh more bitterly againſt the Nobility, than the *Patrician Conſul* did on this occaſion. The ſubject of his harangues was the unequal diſtribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*; and he began to raiſe a diſturbance. The Senate, to put an end to it, order'd him to name a *Dictator*, under pretence of carrying on the war more vigorouſly againſt the *Latines*. *Æmilius* obey'd, but at the ſame time revenged himſelf on the *Conſcript Fathers*, by nominating his *Plebeian* Collegue *Publilius*, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another *Plebeian*, to be his *General of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* being a man intirely devoted to the *Commons*, immediately ſeized this favourable opportunity to eſtabliſh their rights, and even to extend their privileges. And theſe things he effected by three Laws which he paſſed, 1. *That the Decrees made by the Commons, at the requeſt of their Tribunes, ſhould be obſerved by all the* Romans [the Quiri-

Year of ROME CCCCXIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-eight.

116th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8, c. 12.

Year of ROME CCCCXIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-eight.

tes[a].] 2. *That, for the future, the laws which were to be paſs'd by the* Centuries *ſhould be authoriſed*[b] *by the Senate before they were put to the vote, in the* Comitia; whereas hitherto the *Comitia Centuriata* had uſed to paſs the laws firſt, and the Senate to accept or reject them as they pleaſed. 3. *That one of the* Cenſors *ſhould always for the future be a* Plebeian.

116th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 8. c. 13.

The Senate, much mortified at this downfal of the *Patricians*, reſolved to revenge themſelves on *Æmilius*; and, knowing him to be very tender of his honour, attacked him on that ſide. To ſhew the *Romans* how negligently he had conducted himſelf in the diſcharge of the commiſſion he had received to finiſh the *Latine* war, they order'd the new *Conſuls*, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandſon of the Great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a *Plebeian*, to undertake the ſame enterprize, and to lay ſiege to *Pedum*. And that the Generals might not be foil'd in the attempt, they plentifully furniſh'd them with men, proviſions, arms, and proper engines. Upon the report of *Camillus*'s march to beſiege *Pedum*, the forces of *Tybur*, *Præneſte*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium* haſten'd to relieve the place; but theſe troops were defeated, and *Camillus* the ſame day took the town by aſſault. The *Conſuls* having finiſhed the war, and totally ſubdued *Latium*, returned

Year of ROME CCCCXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-ſeven.

117th Conſulſhip.

[a] Ut Plebiſcita omnes Quiritestenerent. This Law ſeems to be of the ſame import with that paſſed by *Horatius* and *Valerius* in 304, the year after the Decemvirate.

[b] Ut legum, quæ Comitiis Centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum ſuffragium patres auctores fierent.

returned to *Rome*, where they not only had the honours of a Triumph, but, by order of the Republick, two *Equeſtrian* ſtatues erected for them in the *Forum*.

Year of ROME CCCCXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-ſeven.

And now the great affair in the Senate was to determine the fate of the conquer'd. *Camillus*, in his harangue upon this occaſion, told the *Fathers*, that the ſucceſs of their arms againſt the *Latines* had been ſuch, that it now depended on their pleaſure *whether* LATIUM *ſhould be any more*; but that it deſerved their conſideration, whether it would not be of greater advantage to the Republick to ſhew mercy to the conquer'd, and admit them to the privileges of *Roman Citizens*, thereby increaſing the number of her ſubjects, than utterly to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a deſert. The *Conſul* declared himſelf for the firſt, and the *Conſcript Fathers* in general were inclined to clemency: But as ſome of the *Latine* Cities had been more criminal than others, they made a diſtinction in their treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman* [c] *Municipia*; their ſoldiers were to be incorporated in the *Legions*, and to be no longer upon the foot of *Auxiliaries*. *Tuſculum* had had the ſame privilege before, and it

117th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 14.

[c] The privileges granted by the *Romans* to the Municipal Towns were more or leſs, according to the ſervices they had done the Republick. The Citizens of ſome *Municipia* had only the *Title* of *Roman* Citizens. Others enjoyed all the privileges properly belonging to that title. They were enrolled in the Tribes, had a right of ſuffrage, could ſtand candidates for offices, and ſerved in the army upon the foot of Legionaries.

Year of ROME CCCCXV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-ſeven.

now confirm'd. But *Velitræ* was razed, and its Senate and inhabitants baniſh'd to another city, beyond the *Tiber*, becauſe it had often rebell'd ſince it was made a *Roman Colony* (in the year) 261. *Antium* was not deſtroy'd; the *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman Citizens*; but they were forbidden the ſea; and their fleet, conſiſting of ſix * Gallies, was partly burnt, and partly carry'd away into the *Roman* ports. With the braſs *Beaks* [*Roſtra*] of theſe veſſels the *Conſul Mænius* adorned the Pulpit, from whence the *Roman* Magiſtrates harangued the People, and hence it was ever after call'd the *Roſtra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte* were depriv'd of all their lands, for having formerly aſſiſted the *Gauls*; and laſtly, all the *Latines* in general were forbidden to aſſemble their Diets as formerly; to marry out of their reſpective cities; or to have common markets or fairs for trade.

317th Conſulſhip.

* Flor. B. 1. c. 11.

As for *Cumæ* and *Sueſſula*, and the other cities of *Campania*, they were treated as *Capua* had been, i. e. their lands were all taken from them and divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three years war was ended in the ſubduing of two fine countries to the Republick; and the *Latines*, from being the *Allies* of *Rome*, became her *Subjects*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. PUBLILIUS, *though a* Plebeian, *obtains the* PRÆTORSHIP; *ſo that all the great Dignities in the State, except thoſe of the Prieſthood, are now common to the two Orders.*

From this year 416, *to the year* 425, *the moſt memorable events are,*

The invention of Moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries, by the Conſul M. Valerius Corvus *(in the year* 418) *at the ſiege of* Cales, *the chief City of the* Auſones, *allies of the* Sidicini. *The Republick's changing the cuſtom of raiſing a new army upon every change of* Conſuls. *The reduction of the* Sidicini *(probably in* 420.) *The addition of two new Tribes (in* 421) *to the* 27 *old ones. A plot formed (in* 422) *by ſome hundreds of* Roman *Women to poiſon their Huſbands. The revolt of* Privernum *(in* 423.) *The reduction of that City (in* 424,) *and the courageous and noble anſwer given by one of the Citizens, when queſtioned by the* Roman Senate *concerning the conduct which the* Privernates *would obſerve for the future.*

§. I. ROME had never been in a better condition to attempt the Conqueſt of all *Italy* than now, when thoſe warm contentions for power at home, which had often retarded the progreſs of the *Roman* arms abroad, were at an end. The *Plebeians* ſhared almoſt all the great offices in the State with the *Patricians*; the *Conſulſhip*, *Quæſtorſhip*. *Ædileſhip*, and *Cenſorſhip*: they were

Year of ROME CCCCXVI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-ſix.

118th Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME cccclxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-six.

were excluded only from the *Prætorſhip* and the *Sacerdotal Dignities.* And in the following year, when *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *P. Ælius Pætus* were in poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, *Publilius*, a Plebeian, ſtood candidate for the *Prætorſhip*, and obtain'd it. The *Conſul Sulpicius* had refuſed to admit his name among thoſe of the other candidates; but the Senate were eaſy in the matter, thinking it perhaps unreaſonable and abſurd, that a *Plebeian*, who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, ſhould merely on account of his birth be excluded from the *Prætorſhip*. And thus the Plebeians being arrived at the height of their deſires, (for they did not yet pretend to the *Pontificate* and *Augurate*) all pretences for faction were intirely taken away. Real, perſonal merit, not high birth, not the merit of mens anceſtors, was now chiefly regarded in the diſtribution of honours: So that this period of time may more properly, than any of the former, be called *The Age of* Roman Virtue.

118th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 15.

The Republick, through the indolence of her preſent *Conſuls*, neglected to revenge the *Aurunci* on their enemies the *Sidicini*, who this year had invaded their country, and made themſelves maſters of their principal City. The *Aurunci* had ſubmitted to the *Romans* in the Conſulſhip of *Manlius Torquatus*, and had continued faithful amidſt all the confuſions of the *Latine* war. They well deſerved therefore to be ſuccour'd; and accordingly the *Conſuls* of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Cæſo Duilius*, were now order'd to lead an army to their aſſiſtance; and though the

Auſones

Auſones joined their neighbours the *Sidicini*, theſe united forces were eaſily put to the rout. They fled for ſhelter behind the walls of their Cities; and the *Conſuls* return'd to *Rome*, without reaping much glory from the campaign.

Year of ROME cccclxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-five.

119th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 16.

But in the following Conſulſhip of *M. Valerius Corvus* (now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time) and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former (to whom his Collegue, at the requeſt of the Senate, had yielded the command of the army without drawing lots) laid ſiege to *Cales*, the chief city of the *Auſones*. He invented *Cover'd Galleries* and *Moveable Towers* for ſcreening his men, and carrying on the attacks, and at length took the place by aſſault.

Year of ROME cccclxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-four.

120th Conſulſhip. Faſt. Capit.

After this the two *Conſuls*, having firſt nominated a *Dictator* to preſide at the enſuing elections, joined their forces, and marched againſt the *Sidicini*; but notwithſtanding that they uſed all expedition to finiſh their conqueſt before the expiration of their year, they were forced to leave the completion of it to their ſucceſſors, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*. As ſoon as theſe new Magiſtrates were named, and before they entered on their office, they, to make themſelves acceptable to the Commons, ſollicited and obtained a decree for ſettling a *Colony* of *Roman Citizens* at *Cales*, and dividing the diſtrict of that City among them; and that the diſtribution of the lands might be made the more equally, the Senate choſe out three perſons of known equity to conduct and ſettle the *Colony*, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men.

Year of ROME cccclxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-three.

121ſt Conſulſhip.

The

Year of ROME cccxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-three.

The *Romans* ſeem at this time to have quite aboliſhed that cuſtom they formerly had, of raiſing a new army upon every change of chief Magiſtrates. An army raiſed by one General now paſſed from him to his ſucceſſor, and ſo on till the end of the war. Accordingly *Veturius* and *Poſthumius* put themſelves at the head of the troops which *Corvus* had commanded, and enter'd the country of the *Sidicini*; who, to avoid a battle, ſuffer'd their territory to be laid waſte, and appeared no more in the field. Nevertheleſs, a report was ſpread at *Rome*, after the return of the *Conſuls*, that the *Sidicini* had once more aſſembled a formidable army, and were joined by the *Samnites*, which cauſed ſo great an alarm, that the *Conſuls*, by order of the Senate, named a *Dictator*, as in a time of imminent danger. Their choice fell upon *P. Cornelius Ruſinus*. This ſupreme Magiſtrate however ſoon abdicated, upon ſome pretended defect in his inauguration. Nay, ſuperſtition prevailed ſo far at this time, that becauſe a plague raged at *Rome*, and becauſe the College of *Augurs* declared, that all the *Auſpices* of the year had been infected by the contagious air, the chief Magiſtrates were all diſplaced, and the Republick fell into an *Inter-regnum*.

121ſt Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 17.

Y. of R. 420. Bef. J. C. 332.

Livy *ſays nothing of what happen'd in the year* 420, *when* L. Papirius Curſor *and* C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus *were* Conſuls, *according to the* Faſti Capitolini. It was very probably a year barren of events, unleſs the *Sidicini* were then ſubdued

122d Conſulſhip.

dued, which is not unlikely, ſince we find no other epoch of their reduction.

Year of ROME cccccxxi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty-one.

In the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *A.* * *Cornelius* and *Cn. Domitius*, a rumour that thoſe terrible enemies, the *Gauls*, were preparing for a war with the Republick, occaſioned the ſudden nomination of *M. Papirius Craſſus* to be *Dictator*; but while he was levying troops to oppoſe their attempts, more certain accounts came that all was quiet on that ſide. Some ſuſpicion of the *Samnites* at this time prevailing, the Dictator would not withdraw from the country of the *Sidicini* a *Roman* army that was there incamped. The *Samnites* were indeed raiſing troops, but it was to defend *Italy* againſt *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who under pretence of ſuccouring the *Tarentines* (then at war with the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*) had made a deſcent at *Pæſtum*, and began to grow formidable to all the eaſtern parts of *Italy*. What ſuſpended the progreſs of his arms, is unknown; but, after ſome ſmall advantages obtained againſt the enemies of the *Tarentines*, he made a Treaty with the *Romans*.

123d Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time. Liv. B. 8. c. 17.

Juſtin, B. 12. c. 2.

The late addition of ſo many new *Citizens* as *Rome* had received ſince the reduction of the *Latines*, made it neceſſary to take a new *Cenſus*, and to increaſe the number of the *Tribes*. To the twenty-ſeven, already in being, were added the *Mæcian* and *Scaptian*; [the firſt near *Lanuvium*, the ſecond between *Tybur* and *Præneſte*.]

Livy, B. 8. c. 17.

But in the midſt of this repoſe from foreign alarms, and in the beginning of the new *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius Potitus*,

Year of ROME cccccxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirty.

titus, there ſprung up in the boſom of the Republick a new kind of monſters, more terrible than any army of invaders from abroad. Some women of diſtinction, to the number of 170, according to ſome, or 360, according to others, formed a plot to poiſon their huſbands, and took the opportunity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their deſign in execution. Their wickedneſs being diſcovered to *Fabius*, one of the Curule Ædiles, by a ſhe ſlave of one of the Ladies, and their perſons being ſeized, two of the priſoners, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, both *Patrician* women, were brought before the aſſembly of the People. Being there examined, they denied that in the medicines which they had prepared, and which had been found with them, there were any poiſonous ingredients. The ſlave, to verify her accuſation, propoſed, that the two Ladies ſhould take their own potions; and the experiment was immediately ordered to be made. Upon this, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* deſired to confer with their accomplices, which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poiſon, and ſo delivered themſelves from a more lingering death. The Republick aſcribed this unheard-of prodigy to a ſpirit of madneſs, ſent as a puniſhment from the angry Gods; to appeaſe whom they nominated a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

124th Conſulſhip. Oroſ. B. 3. c. 10. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 5. Livy, B. 8. c. 18.

This tranſient *Dictatorſhip* quickly gave way to the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Papirius* * *Craſſus* and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their adminiſtration, a deputation came to *Rome* from the

* A ſecond time. Livy, B. 8. c. 19.

Year of ROME cccexxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-nine.

the *Poluſcans* and the inhabitants of *Fabrateria* (both in the territory of the *Volſci*) to demand protection againſt the *Samnites*, by whom they were threaten'd with an irruption. The Senate did not reject their petition, but ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire the *Samnites* to put a ſtop to their hoſtilities againſt thoſe two nations. The *Samnites* complied, and then the Republick immediately turned her arms againſt the *Privernates*. Theſe rebels, in conjunction with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, were headed by *Vitruvius Vaccus*, originally of that town, which after the *Latine* war had been admitted to the rights of *Roman Citizenſhip*. *Vitruvius* had made himſelf an inhabitant of *Rome*, and had enjoyed all the privileges of a Citizen born there, but through the mere vanity of commanding an army had excited his countrymen to revolt. However, he durſt not keep the field when the *Conſuls* appear'd; he fled for refuge to *Privernum*. *L. Plautius*, with one part of the army, enter'd the territory of *Fundi*, the Senators of which City came out to meet him, and endeavoured to juſtify themſelves from having any ſhare in the revolt. The *Conſul* wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then march'd to rejoin his Collegue, who had already block'd up *Privernum*. The ſiege of this place was not yet over, when the Senate recall'd one of the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, to preſide in the *Comitia* for electing new ones.

125th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 19.

c. 20.

The *Romans* were the terror of their neighbours, but the *Gauls* in *Italy* were the terror of the *Romans*. And the Republick being alarm'd at

Year of ROME cccccxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-eight.

at the news of the *Gauls* being in motion, thought fit to bring on the elections before the uſual time, in order to provide fit Generals for ſo important a war [a].

126th Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time.

L. * *Æmilius* and *C. Plautius*, the new *Conſuls*, entered on their office the very day of their election, and they drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act againſt the *Gauls*; his Collegue was to carry on the ſiege of *Privernum*. How much the very ſhadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*, may be judged of by the extraordinary preparations at this time to oppoſe them. The levies were made with the utmoſt rigour; no excuſe was allowed; the meaneſt artificers, and thoſe of ſedentary occupations, were without diſtinction put into the roll. But after all theſe precautions and many other, advice came that the *Gauls* were quiet; ſo that *Æmilius* joined his Collegue before *Privernum*. The town was taken, and the rebel *Vitruvius* being made priſoner, was condemned by the Senate to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. *Æmilius* and *Plautius* both triumphed on account of this new conqueſt; and the former, who had ſpent

Faſt. Capit.

[a] In the midſt of theſe apprehenſions the *Romans* did not forget their ſports and diverſions. They at this time built ſumptuous Porticoes at the entrance of the *Circus*, for a ſhelter to the Horſes, which were before ſo expoſed to the ſun, that they were often fatigued before they began the race. *C. & R.* All that *Livy* ſays, is, Carceres eo anno in circo primum ſtatuti.

but

but little time before the place, obtained the ſurname of *Privernas*[b].

Year of ROME cccclxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-eight.

What now remained was to puniſh the *Privernates*. Thoſe of their Senators who had ſtaid in *Privernum* after its revolt, were condemned to the ſame puniſhment which had been inflicted on the Citizens of *Velitræ*, that is, they were baniſhed beyond the *Tiber*, and forbid to appear any more on this ſide of it, under the penalty of a great fine. And though the *Conſul Plautius* interceded with the Senate for the innocent multitude, and particularly for the priſoners taken in the war, whom he brought to the door of the Senate-Houſe, he did not immediately draw the *Conſcript Fathers* over to his ſentiments; they were divided in opinion. One of the *Privernates*, by an haughty anſwer, endangered all his fellow-captives. Being aſked by a Senator, who inclined to rigour, what puniſhment he thought the *Privernates* deſerved? *The ſame*, ſaid he, *which is due to men who think themſelves worthy of* LIBERTY. So briſk an anſwer exaſperated ſome of the aſſembly, which *Plautius* perceiving, endeavour'd to prevent the ill effect of it, by putting

126th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 8. c. 21. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 2.

[b] The *Romans* are ſometimes reproach'd with unjuſtly giving all the glory of an enterprize to the laſt General concerned in it, and who finiſhed it, notwithſtanding that the former commanders had brought it to ſuch a maturity, as to be paſt the danger of abortion. But it ſhould be conſidered, that this conduct in a people, whoſe chief aim was to extend their empire, was founded in wiſe policy: By giving all the honour of a ſucceſsful war to him who ended it, they animated their Generals to exert themſelves on all occaſions to make a rapid conqueſt. *C. & R.*

Year of ROME cccexxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-eight.

ting a milder queſtion to the priſoner, and which ſhould naturally draw a ſofter anſwer from him: *Suppoſe*, ſaid the Conſul, *we ſhould pardon you*; *In what manner may we expect you will behave yourſelves for the future?* The priſoner anſwer'd, *If the peace you grant us be a good one, we ſhall maintain it faithfully and inviolably*; *if the terms of it be hard, don't count upon us long.* Theſe words made different impreſſions on the judges. Some conſtrued them as menaces, and as indications of a diſpoſition to a new revolt; but the greater part and the wiſer found a magnanimity in them worthy of a man and of a free man. Thoſe eſpecially of the Senators who had been CONSULS adhered to *Plautius*'s opinion, who loudly declared, and repeated it often, *That a people whoſe only deſire was* LIBERTY, *and whoſe only fear was that of loſing it, were worthy to become* ROMAN. Accordingly the Senate paſs'd a decree in favour of the priſoners, and *Privernum* was made a *Municipium.*

128th Conſulſhip.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The* Romans *give umbrage to the* Samnites, *by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the* Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *Territory.* §. II. *A remarkable inſtance of the* Romans *abhorrence of Malice, in the proſecution of a criminal.* §. III. *A new rupture between the* Roman *Republick and the* Samnites. §. IV. *The* Romans *take ſome Towns from the* Samnites. *And* Publilius

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each — 50 100

A Map of GREAT GREECE and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA By Mons. Delisle First Geographer to the King of France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

PICENUM
Adria Col.
Aternus R.
Apennine Hills
VESTINI
Punna
Aternum
Ortona
MARRUCINI
Super aquum Col
PELIGNI
MARSI
Fiscellus R.
Merina
Mont Garganus
Plistia
FRENTANI
Teanum of Apulia
Sipontum Colony
Fucinus Lake
Aufidena
Trinum R.
Triventum
Larina
SAMNIUM
Gerionium
Arpi
CARACENI
Luceria Colony
Esernia Colony
Bovianum Colony
Sepinum
Salapia
Aufidus R.
AUSONES
PENTRI
Allifæ
Æca
APULIA
Ardonea
Cannæ
Barium
Minturnæ Colony
Saticula Col.
Mirsafilia
Cominium
Camusium
PEUCETIA
Cales Col.
Male ventum
Asculum
Beneventum Col.
Aquilonia
Venusium
PEDICULI
Candium
Forentanum
Vulturnum Colony
CAMPANI
HIRPINIA
Capua
Caudium Forks
Taurasium
Romulea
Acherontia
Naples Col.
Abellinum
Rufrium
Compsa
Casuentum R.
Cossilianum Col.
Messapica
Brundusium Col.
IAPYGIANS
CALABRIA
OR MESSAPIANS
PICENTINI
LUCANI
Tarentum
Lupiæ
Cape Misenum
Salernum Colony
Silarus R.
Grumentum
Heraclea
Aciris R.
Hydruntum
SALENTINI
Pestum or Posidonia Colony
Velia
Buxentum Col.
Nerula
Siris R.
Œnotrides Isle
Cape Palinurus
Pandosia
Sibaris Thuriæ or Copiæ Colony
THE
Promontory of Iapigia
THE TYRRHENIAN SEA
BRUTII
IONIAN SEA
Petilia
Consentia
Crathis R.
Æsaras R.
Croton
Lacinian Promontory
ISLES OF LIPARI
Lipari Colony
Vulcan I.
Hipponium Colony
Mamertum
Messana
Rhegium Col.
Locri
SICILY
Epidaurus
ILLYRICUM
THE ADRIATICK SEA
Ulcinium
Lissos
Apollonia

Promont. Sacrum
Nicæa or Marianæ Col.
THE Aleria Colony
MRhatus
ISLE OF CORSICA
Urcinium
Marisa
Straits of Taphros
Capes t. Lucia
Herculis I.
Tibula
The Tower of Libisosa Colony
THE
Olbia
Bosa
ISLE OF
Cornus
Thyrsus R.
SARDINIA
Uselli Colony
The Sacred R.
Cagliari Colony
Tegula
Sulci
Sulci Promontory

26 27 32 33 34 35 36 37
48 42 41 40 39 38

Plate XIII.

Vol. I. Page 529.

takes Palæpolis *by means of a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens: For which exploit, though he be but a* Proconſul, *he is decreed a* TRIUMPH. §. V. *The* Tarentines, *being jealous of the growing power of* Rome, *by an artful ſtratagem ſeduce the* Lucanians *from the* Roman *intereſt into a league with the* Samnites. §. VI. *About this time the infamous paſſion of a* Roman, *named* Papirius, *for one of his inſolvent Debtors, occaſions the paſſing of a law at* Rome, *whereby* CREDITORS *are diſabled from* ſeizing the Perſons *of their* DEBTORS.

§. I. IT was now cuſtomary for the *Romans* either to ſend *Colonies* to the conquered Cities, or to give the inhabitants the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. For they had found to their coſt the ill conſequences of that independence in which they had left the *Latines* after their firſt reduction of them. In purſuance of this new policy, the Senate in the *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius Proculus* and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, ſent a Colony of *Romans* to *Fregellæ*, a City in the Territory of the *Sidicini*, which the *Romans* had rebuilt after the *Samnites* had raz'd it. The repairing and fortifying of this place, and the planting a *Colony* in it, gave umbrage to the *Samnites*, and proved the occaſion of that furious war which ſoon after broke out between them and the Republick.

Year of ROME cccxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-ſeven.

427th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 22.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Palæpolis* made incurſions into the *Roman* Territory. Theſe People were originally *Eubœans*, who came into *Italy* and built *Cumæ*. From thence they ſpread

Year of ROME cccccxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-ſeven.

themſelves farther; and a *Colony* of *Cumans* built *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, i. e. *The New City*; and finding in the neighbourhood of *Naples* a Town ready built, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of it and call'd it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, i. e. *The Old City.*

127th Conſulſhip.

§. II. THE news of this irruption of the *Palæpolitans* was brought to *Rome* juſt before the holding of the aſſemblies of the *Tribes* and of the *Centuries*; the firſt for the Election of *Tribunes of the People*, the ſecond for that of *Conſuls*. It is remarkable, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* the People at this time choſe one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a moſt infamous character, to be one of their *Tribunes*. The occaſion of it was extraordinary. He had been accuſed not long before of doing violence to a Lady. *Valerius*, one of the *Curule Ædiles*, was his chief proſecutor; and the evidence was clear. Fourteen of the twenty-nine *Tribes* had already voted him guilty, when the accuſed, in order to move the reſt of his judges to favour him, made vehement proteſtations, and call'd heaven and earth to witneſs his innocence. Upon this *Valerius* cried out with a louder voice, *What is it to me whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be deſtroyed?* The *Tribes* were ſo offended at theſe words, that they acquitted the criminal by a majority of ſuffrages. *Flavius*, ſoon after, loſt his mother; and it being then cuſtomary to offer ſacrifices in honour to the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than uſual, and, in gratitude to the People for their late favour, diſtributed the fleſh among them. They

Val. Max. B. 8. c. 1.

in return now chose him *Tribune*, though absent.

Year of ROME cccclxxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-six.

§. III. THE *Comitia by Centuries* appointed *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publilius* * *Philo* to be the new *Consuls*. *Publilius* marched an army towards *Palæpolis*, and foreseeing that this place would not easily be taken while supplied with men and provisions from *Naples*, he prudently incamped his troops in the narrow tract of ground between the two Cities. In the mean time *Cornelius*, who had posted himself with another army near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe (who were thought to be gain'd over by the *Samnites* to join them against *Rome*) receiv'd undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites* openly sollicited the *Roman Colonies* to revolt. Upon this the Senate dispatched Ambassadors into *Samnium*, to learn the reason of a conduct so contrary to the faith of Treaties. The Ambassadors met with a haughty reception. The *Samnites* complained of the proceedings of the Republick, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, which (they said) was a wrong done to the *Samnite* nation; and to reproaches they added even menaces. The Ambassadors, without losing their temper, proposed to refer the matter to the arbitration of their common allies. *Arbitrators!* cried the *Samnites*, *we will have none, but the Gods and our Swords; Battles will determine our pretensions better than Words and Judges*; Mars *shall put an end to our disputes, in the plains of* Campania. *Let our armies face each other between* Capua *and* Suessula, *and there try, whether the* Samnites *or the* Romans

128th Consulship.
* A second time.

Livy, B. 8. c. 23.

Year of ROME cccxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

ſhall be Lords of Italy. The Ambaſſadors replied, *We ſhall not go whither our enemies invite us; but whitherſoever our Generals ſhall think fit to lead us.*

§. IV. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs abroad when the time drew near for the new Elections. The Senate, without recalling the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, ordered a *Dictator* to be named to preſide at them. But when *Cornelius* had nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a *Plebeian*, the *Augurs* pretended, for ſome frivolous reaſon, that the nomination was invalid; and though the *Tribunes* charged the College with impoſture, and with pretending Religion, when their view was only to wound the *Plebeian* intereſt, the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*; and then the *Comitia* choſe *C. Poetilius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugillanus Conſuls* for the enſuing year. They put themſelves at the head of the army which *Cornelius* had commanded, and with which he had already enter'd *Samnium*, and they had the good fortune to be joined by the People of *Lucania* and *Apulia*, two nations to which the *Romans* had been hitherto almoſt utter ſtrangers. With this reinforcement they penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three Towns from them.

129th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 8. c. 25.

But theſe conqueſts were of little moment in compariſon of that made by *Publilius*, whom the People, at the motion of their *Tribunes*, had continued in the command of the army before *Palæpolis*, with the title of *Proconſul*. He had already, as was before mention'd, cut off the communication between that place and *Naples*, ſo that the

the beſieged were much ſtraiten'd for want of proviſions. Nor was this the greateſt calamity which the *Palæpolitans* ſuffer'd. Four thouſand *Samnites* and two thouſand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, under pretence of defending *Palæpolis*, had, before it was inveſted, got into the Town, where they kept the citizens in a ſtate of cruel ſlavery, treating them as priſoners of war, and even doing violence to their wives and to their children of both ſexes. In this diſtreſs having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, whoſe preſence they hoped would deliver them from the oppreſſion of their defenders, the inhabitants at length reſolved to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. The *Palæpolitans*, as has been obſerved, were originally *Greeks*, and the ſtratagem they made uſe of had in it much of *Grecian* artifice. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief Magiſtrates of the City, undertook, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, to act two different parts in order to the execution of the common deſign. *Charilaus* eſcaped as a deſerter to the *Roman* camp, where he applied himſelf to the *Proconſul*, and imparted to him the deſire of his countrymen to purchaſe the friendſhip of the *Romans* by ſurrendering their City to them. He declared, that he had nothing in view but the intereſt of his Country and of the *Roman* Republick, and demanded no condition to his own private advantage. *Publilius* received him kindly, applauded his generoſity, and readily enter'd into the ſcheme propoſed. He put him at the head of 3000 *Romans*, who at a proper time

Year of ROME cccexxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

129th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8, c. 23, 25.

Year of ROME cccexxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

were to attack the place in that part which was defended by the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Nymphius*, who had ſtaid in *Palæpolis*, inveighed moſt vehemently againſt his Collegue for his deſertion, and by his counterfeited anger ſo effectually blinded the *Samnite* Commanders, that without any ſuſpicion they fell into the ſnare he had prepared for them. He adviſed them, as the ſureſt method to force the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of the City, immediately to equip the fleet which lay in the Port, and make a deſcent in the *Roman* Territory; and he offer'd to undertake in perſon the execution of his project. This motion was highly approved, and as the ſhips lay dry on the ſhore, all diligence was inſtantly uſed to ſet them afloat. *Nymphius* contrived to have the *Samnite* Troops chiefly employed in that laborious work, which, under pretence of better concealing the deſign, he order'd to be done in the night; and when by this means he had left that part of the wall, by which the *Romans* were to enter, but weakly guarded, he gave notice to his Collegue, with whom he all along kept a private correſpondence, to begin the attack. *Charilaus* with his 3000 *Romans* advanced without loſs of time, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the place. As for the *Samnites* (who were moſt of them buſied without the Town) finding themſelves betrayed, they made the beſt of their way to their own country, without arms or baggage, being ever after the deriſion of their countrymen,

329th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 8. c. 26.

men, who continually reproached them with the *Palæpolitan* Equipment. Year of ROME cccxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

Notwithſtanding that the *Romans* had got poſſeſſion of the Town by the good-will of the inhabitants, yet inaſmuch as it was by means of the ſiege that the latter were brought to take thoſe meaſures they did in favour of the Republick, the *Proconſul* was decreed a Triumph for his ſucceſs. *Livy* obſerves, that two particular honours were done *Publilius*, which had never been done before to any *Roman*: The being continued after the expiration of his Conſulſhip at the head of the ſame army he had commanded when *Conſul*, and the being decreed a Triumph for exploits performed in an inferior ſtation. 129th Conſulſhip.

§. V. THE taking of *Palæpolis* made the *Tarentines* jealous of the growing power of the Republick. They had a little before this loſt their chief ſupport by the death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who being warn'd by an Oracle to avoid the Waters of *Acheron* and the City of *Pandoſia*, had left his own country, in which were a City and River of thoſe names, and met his fate in *Italy*, where there happen'd to be another *Pandoſia* and another *Acheron*. The ſtory, as related by *Livy*, is to this effect: The King of *Epirus* had made a deſcent in *Italy* to aſſiſt the *Tarentines* againſt the *Bruttians* and *Lucanians*; and having taken ſome towns of importance from the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and incamped them on three different hills ſeparated by deep vallies. The *Italian Acheron* roll'd its waters in one of thoſe vallies, and the little City of Livy, B. 8. c. 27. c. 24.

Year of ROME cccccxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

129th Conſulſhip.

Pandoſia ſtood on the banks of it. The violent rains, which came on a ſudden, filled up the vallies, and cut off the communication between *Alexander*'s three bodies of Troops. The enemy ſeized this occaſion to attack them ſeparately, while they could not aſſiſt each other, and having eaſily defeated the two diviſions of the army where the King was not, they ſtrait encompaſſed the hill where he had poſted himſelf. *Alexander*, by his bravery, forced a paſſage thro' the enemy, and having rallied his ſcatter'd ſoldiers, came to a river, where the freſh ruins of a bridge, which the flood had broken down, pointed out the right road for him to take. While they attempted to paſs the ſtream, uncertain whether it were fordable or not, an *Epirot* ſoldier, oppreſſed with fear and fatigue, made this ſudden exclamation, *Juſtly indeed art thou called* Acheron! *(i. e. River of Sorrow.)* The King hearing this, and remembering the Oracle, ſtopt ſhort, unreſolved whether to go forward or not; but in that inſtant *Sotimus*, one of his Pages, telling him that his own Guards (conſiſting of 200 *Lucanian* Exiles, whom he had taken into his ſervice) had in concert with the enemy plotted his deſtruction, and the King ſeeing them in reality advancing to aſſault him, he ſword in hand puſh'd on his horſe, and had almoſt reach'd the oppoſite ſhore, when one of thoſe faithleſs guards at a diſtance lanced a javelin at him, which pierced him through, and killed him.

Liv. B. 8. c. 27.

The *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, by going over to the *Romans*, and declaring for them againſt the *Samnites*, had much increaſed the uneaſineſs of the

the *Tarentines*. Theſe therefore, who were very ready at tricks and artifices, contrived a ſtratagem to deceive the *Lucanians*, and bring them off from the party they had eſpouſed. They bribed a company of young *Lucanians*, of good families, though of little honour, to tear their backs with whips, and then ſhew themſelves to the People, pretending that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman Conſuls*, to whoſe camp curioſity had led them. The *Lucanians* were ſo ſtupid a people, that, without examining into the truth of ſo improbable a fact, they immediately demanded a National Aſſembly, which being convened, it was there decreed, That war ſhould be declared againſt the *Romans*; that the ancient alliances ſhould be renewed with the *Samnites*; and that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the latter for that purpoſe. The *Samnites* could ſcarce believe the deputation real; and, before they would hearken to the Ambaſſadors, demanded hoſtages, and inſiſted on the Towns of *Lucania* receiving *Samnite* garriſons. Theſe things were readily granted, nor did the *Lucanians* diſcover the cheat till it was too late to repent.

Year of ROME cccxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

129th Conſulſhip.

§. VI. AT this time the poor Debtors at *Rome* had the good fortune to ſhake off the heavieſt yoke that lay upon them. By one of the laws of the *Twelve Tables*, Creditors were impowered to ſeize the Perſons of their inſolvent Debtors, and keep them in irons. Theſe wretches, till they had diſcharged their debts by their labour or otherwiſe, were in all reſpects ſlaves, except in

Livy, B. 2. c. 28.

Varro de Lingua Latina, B. 6.

Year of ROME cccexxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-five.

in name. They were called *Nexi*, i. e. *Bound*, whereas the Slaves were called *Servi*. A young *Plebeian*, named *Publilius*, of extraordinary beauty, and of a good family, had voluntarily made himſelf a ſlave to one *Papirius*, in order to pay his father's debts. *Papirius* conceived a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and, upon his refuſing to comply, cauſed him to be whipt unmercifully. *Publilius* made his eſcape out of the houſe, complained publickly of the cruel uſage, and told the occaſion of it. The ſtory filled the People with compaſſion for the young man, and with reſentment and fury againſt his maſter. They gather'd together tumultuouſly, and having, by their clamours, obliged the *Conſuls* to aſſemble the Senate, preſented *Publilius* before them, with his back all bloody and torn, and then on their knees demanded juſtice. The Senate had regard to their intreaties; and though they decreed nothing againſt *Papirius* (perhaps for want of ſufficient proof) they paſs'd a law, which was afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*, *That for the future no perſon whatſoever ſhould be held in fetters or other bonds unleſs for ſome crime that deſerved it, and only till the criminal had ſuffered the puniſhment due by law; and that* CREDITORS *ſhould have a right to attach the* Goods *only, and not the* Perſons *of their* DEBTORS.

129th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 8. c. 28.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. *The* Veſtini, *a People on the coaſt of the* Adriatick *ſea, take arms againſt* Rome, *to their own loſs.* §. II. L. Papirius Curſor *is named* Dictator *to conduct the war againſt the* Samnites. *His General of the Horſe,* Quintus Fabius, *is guilty of a breach of diſcipline. The ſeverity of the* Dictator *on this occaſion.* §. III. *Finding his ſoldiers ill affected to him becauſe of his ſeverity in command, he changes his manner on a ſudden, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the* Samnites *to ſue for peace.* §. IV. *The* Senate *grant the* Samnites *only a year's Truce, which the latter break ſo ſoon as they hear that* Papirius *has quitted the* Dictatorſhip. *The* Romans *obtain a complete victory over them.* §. V. *The* Samnites *repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the* Romans.

§. I. THE Republick, in the following Conſulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, began to be embarraſſed by the great numbers of enemies ſhe had to deal with. Beſide the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, the *Veſtini* had declared againſt her. Theſe were themſelves an inconſiderable people upon the coaſt of the *Adriatick* ſea; but they had powerful neighbours, who in all probability would arm in their defence, if the Republick ſhould attack them. This conſideration made the Senate demur; but at length pride

Year of ROME cccexxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

130th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 29.

Year of ROME cccexxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

pride prevailed over prudence; it was not for the honour of *Rome* to let herſelf be inſulted without revenging it. The two *Conſuls* therefore took their commands by lot, and it fell to *Camillus* to conduct the war againſt the *Samnites*, and to *Brutus* to act againſt the *Veſtini*. *Brutus*'s firſt care was to hinder the *Veſtini* from joining the *Samnites*, which he did, by incamping on the frontiers between the two nations. He ſoon after defeated them in battle, and took from them *Cutina* and *Cingilia*.

130th Conſulſhip.

§. II. *CAMILLUS*, who had made it his buſineſs to keep the *Samnites* upon the defenſive in their own country, fell ſick, and was obliged to return to *Rome*; and, being there order'd to name a *Dictator*, he pitched upon *L. Papirius Curſor*, the greateſt Captain the Republick could then boaſt of, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his *General of the Horſe*. Theſe took poſſeſſion of the command of the army in *Samnium*: But there having been ſomething obſcure in the *Auſpices* conſulted before their departure from *Rome*, ſcruple and ſuperſtition tormented the *Dictator* when he came to enter upon action. To remove the pain of his doubts and fears, he return'd to the City to renew the *Auſpices*; but firſt forbad *Fabius*, with whom he intruſted the command of the army in his abſence, to venture a battle with the enemy.

Aurel. Vict. de Viris Ill. Iuſt. c. 31.

Fabius being fond of glory, and beloved of the army, and diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, reſolved to hazard an action, notwithſtanding the *Dictator*'s prohibition. He attacked the

Sam-

Samnites, whom he found in leſs diſorder than he had at firſt expected, and was once very near loſing the day: But then the *Roman* cavalry, unbridling their horſes, drove upon the enemy with ſuch a ſudden and irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the latter were put into confuſion, and intirely broken and defeated. Twenty thouſand of them remained dead upon the field of battle. This victory made the young Conqueror grow inſolent; and, inſtead of lodging the ſpoils of the enemy in the *Quæſtor*'s hands, to be ſold for the advantage of the publick, he cauſed them all to be burnt, that they might not do honour to the *Dictator*, by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion; neither did he ſend any account of his victory to the *Dictator*, but only to the *Senate*; an inſtance of great diſreſpect to the General under whoſe *Auſpices* he had fought.

Year of ROME cccexxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

130th Conſulſhip.

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 2. Livy, B. 8. c. 30.

Theſe proceedings incens'd *Papirius*, and he haſten'd to the camp to puniſh his diſobedient *General of the Horſe*. *Fabius* having timely notice of his coming, and of his deſign, called together the troops, and made an harangue to them, wherein he inveighed againſt the *Dictator*, *Whoſe reſentments*, he ſaid, *threaten'd not only* his *life*, *but the lives of many of the other Officers*, *and even of the private Soldiers*, *who had helped him to gain the victory*. *That therefore it was the common intereſt of the army to protect him*; *and that to them he committed the defence of his life and fortune*. The ſoldiers with one voice cried out to him to take courage, and they promiſed to defend him to the laſt breath. *Papirius*, not long after, arrived.

c. 31.

c. 32.

Having

Year of ROME cccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

230th Conſulſhip.

Having inſtantly aſſembled the Troops, he ordered the Crier to call *Quintus Fabius, General of the Horſe*, to appear before him. When *Fabius* was come near the *Tribunal*, and ſilence made, the *Dictator* queſtion'd him concerning his violation, not only of the common laws of Military Diſcipline, but of the expreſs orders of a *Dictator*, whom he could not but know to have a ſovereign authority in the Republick, and whom even the *Conſuls* themſelves, Magiſtrates who ſucceeded to the Regal Power, obey'd. *Fabius* had a bad cauſe to defend, and was confuſed in his anſwers; one while complaining that the *Dictator* was both accuſer and judge, and then exclaiming loudly, that he would ſooner loſe his life, than the glory of his exploits; this moment he attempted to excuſe himſelf, and the next accuſed the *Dictator*: which provoking *Papirius* ſtill more, he commanded the *Lictors* to ſtrip the criminal, and prepare their Rods and Axes. But when theſe executioners were beginning to tear off his clothes, he cried out to the Soldiers for aſſiſtance, and by ſome means made his eſcape, retiring among the *Triarii*. Theſe things put the army into a great commotion, and raiſed a clamour throughout the whole aſſembly; ſome beſeeching, others threatening. The officers who were near the *Dictator* endeavoured by reaſoning and by intreaties to mitigate his reſentment againſt a young man of great hopes, and of a family ſo highly and ſo juſtly honoured in *Rome*. They repreſented to him the danger to which he might expoſe himſelf by too far exaſperating the mul-

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7.

multitude, who, blind with anger, might be carried to do ſomething extravagant and deſperate. All was in vain, *Papirius* continued inflexible; and their remonſtrances ſeemed more to increaſe his indignation, than to ſoften him towards *Fabius*. But when he would have commanded ſilence, the noiſe was ſo great that neither his criers nor himſelf could be heard, and night alone put an end to the tumult. *Fabius*, though ſummon'd to appear again the next day, did not think it prudent to ſtand a ſecond trial, but eſcaped to *Rome*, there to preſent himſelf before leſs paſſionate judges.

Year of ROME cccexxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

130th Conſulſhip.

Eutrop. B. 2. c. 8. Livy, B. 8. c. 33.

As ſoon as he arrived, his father (who had been thrice *Conſul*, and once *Dictator*) thought it neceſſary to get the Senate aſſembled without delay, and obtain a favourable decree for him before the return of the *Dictator*. The Senate was met, young *Fabius* had already work'd upon the *Fathers*, and made them think *Papirius* both unjuſt and barbarous, when on a ſudden a great noiſe was heard at the door of the Temple where they were ſitting. It was *Papirius* himſelf, attended by his *Lictors* who were diſperſing the crowd at the entrance of the ſanctuary. Upon his appearance the ſcene changed. He took his place, order'd his *Lictors* to ſeize young *Fabius*, and was immediately obey'd. In vain did the oldeſt and moſt venerable Senators intercede for the criminal; *Papirius* was inexorable: ſo that the father of the young man having no other remedy left, appealed to the people in *Comitia*; and, though the appeal was unprecedented, the *Dictator*

Year of ROME cccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

ator did not hold it expedient to diſpute the ſuperior authority of the *Roman* People.

When the *Comitia* were form'd, both the *Fabii* aſcended the *Roſtra* with *Papirius*; which he obſerving, ſternly order'd the *Maſter of the Horſe* to be pull'd down. Young *Fabius* immediately deſcended, and his father followed him; but then the father, placing himſelf at the foot of the *Roſtra*, broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Papirius* for his haughtineſs and barbarity; he cited ſome former [a] caſes (not much to the purpoſe) where faulty Generals had not been ſo ſeverely puniſhed; he complained, that no diſtinction was made between a fortunate and an unfortunate diſobedience; and, in ſhort, omitted nothing that could be ſaid in ſo bad a cauſe. He clamour'd, he brangled, he complained, he called upon Gods and men for help, and, throwing his arms about his ſon's neck, wept over him a flood of tears. The whole aſſembly was moved. On the ſide of the *Fabii*, ſays *Livy*, were the majeſty of the Senate, the favour of the People, the aid of the Tribunes, and a remembrance of the abſent army. *Papirius*, on his own part, ſpoke in a high ſtrain, of the Dignity of his Office, the Military Laws, *Dictatorial* Edicts reverenced as the Oracles of Heaven, *Manlius*'s rigour to his own ſon: He reproach'd the *Romans* with degeneracy from that heroick love of their country, which uſed to prevail over all paternal affection and private conſiderations: He urged the many

130th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 8. c. 34.

[a] The caſe of *Minucius* (*ſee p.* 282, Vol. 2.) and that of *L. Furius* (*ſee p.* 141, Vol. 3.)

ill

ill conſequences of admitting appeals from a *Dictator* to the *People*, and eſpecially in caſes of diſobedience in war; and concluded with admoniſhing the Tribunes not to load themſelves with the blame of being the authors of thoſe miſchiefs to the Republick, by their protection of the guilty *Fabius*.

Year of ROME ccccxxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

130th Conſulſhip. Livy. B. 8. c. 34.

His diſcourſe threw both the People and their *Tribunes* into great perplexity: For tho' to receive Appeals from the ſentence of a *Dictator* was to extend the exerciſe of the People's power, yet they were afraid of the conſequence of interpoſing (in ſuch a cauſe eſpecially) againſt that high authority, which they had ſo often found it neceſſary, for the ſafety of the Republick, to lodge with a ſingle Magiſtrate. Inſtead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they only became interceſſors for the criminal, humbly beſeeching the *Dictator* in the moſt earneſt manner to pardon his *General of the Horſe*. The *Fabii* themſelves likewiſe fell proſtrate at his feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this *Papirius* order'd ſilence to be made, and then declar'd, That he was ſatisfied: MILITARY DISCIPLINE *has prevail'd*, the DICTATORIAL AUTHORITY *has gain'd the victory. The delinquent is not acquitted, but condemned, and is pardoned at the interceſſion of the* Roman People *and of their* Tribunes: *They have ſuccoured him, not as innocent, not by a juſt exerciſe of power, but by their prayers for mercy on a convicted criminal.* Live *then*, QUINTUS FABIUS, *more fortunate in this unanimous conſent of your Country to your preſervation, than*

Year of ROME cccclxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

in the victory you a while ago ſo inſolently boaſted of. Live, FABIUS, *though you have dared to commit a crime which your own Father, in my place, would not have forgiven. You ſhall be received again into* my *favour* —— *upon any terms. But as for the* Roman People, *to whom you owe your life, the beſt return you can make to* them, *is to let this day teach you, whether in war or in peace, to obey your lawful Commanders. Go, you are at liberty.* Thus ended this affair; and the *Romans* afterwards confeſs'd, to the *Dictator*'s honour, that the peril into which he brought *Fabius* had conduced as much to the ſupport of Military Diſcipline, as the death of young *Manlius*, condemn'd by his own Father.

130th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 34.

c. 36. §. III. BUT while *Papirius* ſtaid in *Rome*, the *Samnites* took advantage of his abſence to inſult his army; whoſe Commander, *M. Valerius*, a Lieutenant General, was ſo intimidated by the example of *Fabius*, that he durſt not oppoſe the hoſtilities of the enemy. He ſuffer'd a party of his foragers to be cut in pieces, rather than ſtir out of his camp to relieve them. This accident help'd to exaſperate the troops yet more againſt the *Dictator*; who when he came to the camp (with *L. Papirius Craſſus*, a relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the Horſe in the room of *Fabius*) found all his men ſo ill-affected to him, and ſo little diſpoſed to gain him glory, that he had no hopes of making any progreſs with them in the war. However, as the enemy offer'd him battle, and he could not in honour decline fighting, he poſted himſelf ſo advan-

advantageouſly, and drew up his troops with ſo much dexterity, that it was not poſſible for them to be intirely defeated. When the battle was over (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been routed) *Papirius* acted a part which ſurpriſed every body. Not one officer or ſoldier, who had behaved himſelf negligently in the fight, was ſo much as reprimanded by him. He went about with his Lieutenants viſiting the wounded ſoldiers, put his head into their tents, aſked them how they did, charging their officers to have particular care of each of them by name; and all this he ſeems to have done without the leaſt appearance of affectation: for we find that the army, which had always held him in eſteem, came, in a ſhort time, to have a moſt tender affection for him.

Year of ROME cccexxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-four.

130th Conſulſhip.

The People at *Rome* being informed of this great alteration in the diſpoſitions of the ſoldiers towards their commander, continued him in his employment[a], and no *Conſuls* were choſen for the year 429. As for *Papirius*, he no longer doubted of victory, and he ſoon gave the enemy

Year of ROME cccexxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-three. Faſt. Capit.

[a] *Livy* confines *Papirius*'s Dictatorſhip to the foregoing year 428, and places the events of this year 429 in that. So that he makes *Papirius*'s two Dictatorſhips to have been but one. Nevertheleſs it appears that *Papirius* was continued in his office, and created Dictator a ſecond time. We have a convincing proof of it in the *Faſti Capitolini*. They ſay that *L. Papirius* triumphed over the *Samnites* in the year 429, on the third of the Nones of *March*. This makes us believe that *Papirius*'s Dictatorſhip was prolonged to the year 430; and *Livy*'s ſilence confirms us in this opinion: for he makes no mention of any Conſuls for the year 429, which is likewiſe omitted in the conſular Annals. *C. & R.*

Year of ROME cccexxx. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-two.

a total overthrow; after which he over-ran *Samnium* (leaving all the booty to his ſoldiers) and reduced the *Samnites* ſo low, that they ſued for peace, which he granted them on three preliminary conditions: That they ſhould cloath all his Troops, give them a year's pay, and get the Treaty confirmed by the Senate.

131ſt Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 37.

§. IV. *PAPIRIUS* having *Triumphed* for his late victories, held the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, where *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus* were choſen *Conſuls* for the next year. When the *Conſcript Fathers* came to conſider of the Peace to be made with the *Samnites*, they diſapproved of the terms offered by them, and therefore granted only a Truce for a year, which the *Samnites* broke ſo ſoon as they heard that *Papirius* was no longer in command. At the ſame time the *Apulians* declared for them againſt *Rome*. The Republick thought it neceſſary therefore to divide her forces between the two *Conſuls*. *Aulius* led an army into *Apulia*, and *Sulpicius* another into *Samnium*; but both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keeping themſelves cloſe in their fortified places, the *Roman* Generals reaped little glory from the campaign.

This year the *Tuſculans* were tried before the *Roman* People upon a bill preferred by the *Tribune*, *M. Flavius*, to puniſh them for adviſing and aſſiſting the People of *Velitræ* and *Privernum* in the war they made upon the *Romans*. The *Tuſculans*, with their wives and children, came to *Rome*, and in the humbleſt manner ſollicited the People to have pity on them. All the Tribes, except

except the *Pollian*, rejected the bill. The *Pollian* would have had all the men ſcourged and beheaded, and their wives and children expoſed to ſale. Of this the *Tuſculens*, who were incorporated into the *Papirian* Tribe, retained ſo laſting a reſentment, that, almoſt to the times of *Livy*, ſcarce any perſon of the *Pollian* Tribe, who ſtood candidate for an office, could get the vote of the *Papirian*.

Year of ROME cccexxxi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-one.

132d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 38. Faſt. Capit.

Quintus Fabius (who had been General of the Horſe to the Dictator *Papirius)* and *L. Fulvius Corvus*, the next year's *Conſuls*, marched their joint forces againſt the *Samnites* (who had raiſed a formidable army) and gave them an intire over throw, but not without great difficulty. The *Samnites* had ſurpriſed the *Romans*, while incamped in a place very diſadvantageous both for ſubſiſting their army and for ſuſtaining an attack; and when, for theſe reaſons, the *Romans* attempted to retire in the night, the enemy watched them ſo narrowly, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that the next day they found themſelves under a neceſſity of hazarding a battle. It laſted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, without either ſide's giving way, or ſo much as changing the order in which they were firſt drawn up. The imprudence of the *Samnite* cavalry determined the fortune of the day: For, having received advice, from one of their moſt advanced ſquadrons, that the *Romans* had left their baggage a good way behind them without any troops to defend it, greedineſs of plunder induced them to wheel off in order to ſeize the prey; and the *Conſuls*, to

Year of ROME cccexxxi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-one.

whom early notice of their motion was brought, allowed them all the time that was neceſſary to load their horſes with booty, and put themſelves out of a condition to fight; and then ordered away the whole body of *Roman* cavalry to fall upon them. The cavalry executed the order with expedition and ſucceſs: After which, fetching a compaſs, they came upon the rear of the *Samnite* Infantry; an unexpected attack, which ſtruck them with terror, and ſoon after threw them into confuſion. The *Romans* purſued their advantage, and made a dreadful ſlaughter: Thoſe of the *Samnites* who kept their ground, were cut in pieces by the *Roman* Foot; and thoſe who fled, fell moſt of them by the ſwords of the Horſe, and, among the reſt, the General himſelf.

132d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 8. c. 39.

§. V. SO terrible a defeat made the *Samnites* reflect ſeriouſly on their unjuſt breach of the Truce with the *Romans*; and they imputed their late misfortune to the anger of the Gods, whom they ſuppoſed to be offended at the violation of their oaths. To appeaſe them, they reſolved to ſacrifice the chief author of that breach; and one *Brutulus Papius*, a man of diſtinction, but of a turbulent ſpirit, was univerſally pitch'd upon to be the victim. They paſs'd a decree, that he ſhould be deliver'd up to the *Romans*; and that the ſpoil and captives taken within the time of the Truce, and, in ſhort, whatever their *Feciales* had demanded, ſhould be reſtored to them. In purſuance of this decree, *Brutulus*, with all his effects, was put into the hands of ſome *Samnite* ambaſſadors, to be carried to *Rome*; but he kill'd himſelf

himſelf before he got there. However, they ſurrender'd his dead body to the *Romans*, who, of what was offer'd by way of reſtitution, accepted only the captives and a part of the effects, rejecting whatever could not be claimed by any private *Roman* as his own.

Year of ROME cccexxxi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty-one.

After this the *Conſul Fulvius* return'd to *Rome*, while his Collegue *Fabius* led an army into *Apulia*. That he ſucceeded in his expedition, appears by the *Capitoline Marbles*, where he is ſaid to have triumph'd over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was this year choſen *Dictator*, but it was only to preſide at the *Games* in the abſence of the *Conſuls*, and during the ſickneſs of the *Prætor*. However *Livy* finding, that at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites* the Government was in the hands of a *Dictator*, aſcribes by miſtake that exploit to him. The *Capitoline Marbles* rectify the error.

132d Conſulſhip. Faſt. Capit. Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illuſtribus. c. 32.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Samnites *being refuſed a Peace, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one* Pontius, *an able officer, to be their General.* Pontius, *by a ſtratagem, draws the* Roman *Legions into a dangerous paſs (called afterwards the* Caudine Forks) *where they are ſurrounded by the* Samnites, *and have no poſſibility of forcing their way out of it. To ſave their lives, they ſubmit to ſhameful conditions impoſed by the enemy.* §. II. *The baſe expedients, to which*

the Romans *have recourſe, to evade the treaty.* §. III. Satricum *revolts from the* Romans; *and the* Samnites *ſurpriſe* Fregellæ, *a* Roman *Colony.*

Year of ROME cccexxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

§. I. IT had been a conſtant maxim with the *Romans* to pardon the nations which ſubmitted, and to treat none with rigour but the proud and untractable; but their late ſucceſſes made them now deviate from this rule; and, notwithſtanding that the *Samnites* ſued to them for a peace, and endeavoured to merit it by the methods which have been related, the Senate rejected their petition, and thereby put them under a neceſſity of continuing the war at all hazards. And while the *Centuriate Comitia* at *Rome* were chuſing *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Poſthumius Conſuls* for the new year, the *Samnites* in their Diet appointed one *Pontius*, an able General, to command their troops. *Pontius* exhorted the aſſembly not to fear a war with a People who had received reſtitution of wrongs with haughtineſs, and had refuſed peace when offered upon the moſt reaſonable terms. *The Gods*, ſaid he, *are* now no *longer our enemies*; *Juſtice accompanies our arms, and we cannot fail of ſucceſs.* He then immediately led his troops near to *Caudium* (a little Town in *Samnium*) and there incamp'd as covertly as poſſible. When the *Conſuls* were come within a league of him, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the *Samnite* army was laying ſiege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and the more effectually to deceive the *Romans*, he ordered ten of his ſoldiers

133d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 1.

c. 2.

diers in the habit of herdſmen to lead ſome cattle into different parts, but ſtill in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with inſtructions to agree all in the ſame report when taken priſoners by their Foragers. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The *Romans* in a council of war reſolved to march to the relief of *Luceria*; and there being two ways thither, one broad and open, but farther about than the other, which was through certain ſtreights (called ſince *The Caudine Forks*) they choſe the latter. The nature of the ground was this. Between two circling ridges of mountains, ſo covered with trees and briars as to be abſolutely unſurmountable, was a pretty large marſhy meadow, through the middle of which lay the road. At the hither end, the way into it was very deep and narrow through a hollow rock; the way out, at the farther end, more narrow, deep, and difficult. When the *Romans*, having paſs'd the firſt, came to this, they found it intirely barr'd with huge ſtones and trees laid acroſs: and then they alſo diſcerned great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences. To avoid being inveſted, they inſtantly turned back, thinking to retire through the paſs by which they had entered; the *Samnites* had already blocked it up. The conſternation of the *Romans* was inexpreſſible, when they perceived themſelves ſhut in, without a poſſibility of eſcaping. They ſtood ſilent and fix'd their eyes on one another, each to ſee whether he could diſcover any glimmering of hopes in his companions looks. At length the ſoldiers ſeeing the *Conſuls* tent pitched, and prepara-

Year of ROME cccxxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

133d Conſulſhip. Eutropius, Florus, Zonaras, Oroſius, &c.

Year of ROME cccxxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

parations making towards fortification, ſet themſelves to work, without waiting for orders, to raiſe a rampart along the water, though they well knew it to be a fruitleſs labour, and were all the while ſcoffed at by the enemy. As ſoon as the army was incamped, the principal Officers repaired of their own accord to the *Conſuls* tent; but the caſe was ſuch as allowed no room for counſel or debate. The Gods themſelves, ſays *Livy*, could hardly have given them aſſiſtance. Night came on: Without taking any refreſhment, officers and ſoldiers ſpent the hours of reſt in diſcourſing on their unhappy ſituation.

333d Conſulſhip.

On the other hand, the *Samnites* could not come to any determination what to do with their enemies, who were abſolutely at their mercy. After much debate it was at length univerſally agreed to conſult *Herennius*, the father of *Pontius*, a wiſe old man whom they looked upon as a kind of Oracle. The meſſenger whom they ſent to him for his advice, brought back this anſwer: *That he counſelled them not to do the leaſt harm to the* Romans, *but to open them a free paſſage home.* This advice being rejected, the ſame meſſenger was diſpatched a ſecond time; and then the old man ſent word, *That he would not have them ſpare the life of one ſingle Roman.* The ſtrange difference between theſe two anſwers made the *Samnites* imagine that there was ſome myſtery in the matter, and they preſſed *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp, that he might explain himſelf. When the wiſe *Herennius* was come, he let them know, that in good policy there was no

Livy, B. 9. c. 3.

medium

medium between treating the *Romans* in the kindeſt manner, and deſtroying them abſolutely. That by the firſt (which he thought the beſt) they would gain the friendſhip of a powerful nation; that by the ſecond they would greatly leſſen the ſtrength of a dangerous enemy; but that no third way could produce any advantage of either ſort. However, this prudent advice was not followed. *Pontius* and his Officers choſe a middle way, ſuch as their fooliſh vanity ſuggeſted: They would ſpare the lives of the *Romans*, but at the ſame time treat them as conquered enemies.

Year of ROME cccexxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

133d Conſulſhip.

Whilſt the *Samnites* were in theſe deliberations, the *Romans* ſent a deputation to them to deſire a truce upon equitable terms, and in caſe of refuſal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius* with a haughty air anſwer'd, *That the* Samnites *had no battles to fight; that the victory was already gain'd; and that not a man of the* Roman *Legions ſhould eſcape, till they had been diſarm'd, and had paſſed one by one* under the Yoke: *That, beſide this, he expected that the* Romans *ſhould quit* Samnium, *and withdraw their* Colonies *from all the Cities they had uſurped from the* Samnites. *And he* concluded with forbidding the Deputies *to appear any more in his preſence, if the* Conſuls *did not accept the terms propoſed.*

Livy, B. 9. c. 4.

The report of this anſwer threw the *Legions* into the utmoſt deſpair. The *Conſuls* were ſtruck dumb, and durſt not declare themſelves for ſo ſhameful a Treaty. *L. Lentulus*, a conſiderable Officer in the army, and who had been at the head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*, was the firſt

Year of ROME cccclxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

133d Conſulſhip.

firſt who broke ſilence; addreſſing himſelf to the *Conſuls*, he ſpoke to this effect: *I have often heard my father ſay, that, when the* Gauls *beſieged the* Capitol, *he was the only man in the Senate, who oppoſed the redeeming of* Rome *with Gold; and the reaſon he gave for his opinion was, that the enemy not having ſhut up the* Capitol *by intrenchments, nor raiſed any rampart round it, it was ſtill poſſible for the* Romans, *tho' difficult, to force a paſſage through the beſiegers. Were the caſe with us the ſame; were there any poſſibility of eſcaping; could we make ſallies, as they ſometimes did, or could we force the* Samnites *to a battle, I ſhould ſoon convince you by my counſel, that I have the ſame courage as my Father; I ſhould ſpeak the ſame language, and endeavour yet more by my example, than my words, to animate you to the fight, tho' in never ſo diſadvantageous a ſituation for it. For my own part, I would gladly ruſh into the midſt of the enemy, and* devote *myſelf for the* Roman *People, if that could be of any avail to their preſervation; for I am truly ſenſible, that no fortune can be ſo glorious as to die for the ſafety of our Country. But our Country at preſent is here; its chief ſtay and ſtrength, the* Roman Legions *are in this valley. Shall they devote themſelves to death for their own preſervation? To what end then? To ſave the* Walls *of* Rome? *the* Houſes? *the crowd of People that inhabit the City? — And which way can even theſe be preſerved, if this army periſh? Will a weak, unarm'd, deſpondent multitude defend them? Juſt as they did againſt the* Gauls *after the battle of the* Allia. —— *But it is ſhameful, ſay you, to give up our arms like cowards. I grant it: Yet the*

the love of our Country ſhould be ſuch, as to make us ready, if need be, to ſuffer Ignominy *as well as* Death; *to ſacrifice, not only our* Lives, *but our* Glory *to preſerve it. For the ſake of* ROME *then let us ſubmit to the conditions impoſed, be the indignity never ſo great; nor ſcruple any longer to obey Neceſſity, to which the* GODS *themſelves are ſubject.*

Year of ROME cccexxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

This advice was followed. The *Conſuls* ſignified to *Pontius*, that they conſented to lay down their arms, and paſs *under the Yoke*; upon which they obtained a conference with him. As to a Treaty of Peace, they declared, *That they could not conclude any that would be binding on the* Roman *People without their approbation, and the miniſtry of the* Feciales. *That their power extended no farther than to make promiſes, which they were ready to ſtrengthen by giving Hoſtages.* The ſtipulation was accepted on theſe terms, and the *Conſuls*, *Lieutenant Generals*, *Quæſtors*, and *Legionary Tribunes* all ſigned the Convention; ſix hundred *Roman Knights* were to be given as Hoſtages; and the *Samnites* were to have power to cut off their heads, in caſe the Republick did not perform the *Conſuls* promiſes.

133d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 5.

When the day came for the *Roman* army to paſs *under the Yoke*, or Gallows, the ſix hundred Knights march'd firſt out of the camp, unarm'd, and with only their under garment; and theſe were taken into ſafe cuſtody. The *Conſuls* followed next, then the inferior Officers, and at laſt the Soldiers one by one. The *Samnites* inſulted them as they paſs'd; and if any *Roman* return'd

c. 6.

but

Year of ROME cccxxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

but a fierce look, he was immediately knock'd down or kill'd.

The *Romans* could have reach'd *Capua* the ſame day; but partly out of diſtruſt of that City, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo wretched a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground in the neighbourhood of it, reſolving to paſs the night in the open air; which when the Magiſtrates of *Capua* underſtood, moved with compaſſion, they ſent clothes, horſes and arms, *Lictors* alſo and *Faſces* to the *Conſuls*, and food for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the Senate and People went out to meet them with all demonſtrations of kindneſs. Nevertheleſs the *Romans*, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with this hoſpitality: They kept their eyes fix'd on the ground, and ſhunn'd all diſcourſe. They were accompanied to the frontiers by ſeveral young men of the *Campanian* Nobility; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind; which, when it was reported to the Senate of *Capua* by the young Nobles at their return, made the aſſembly in general conclude, that the *Roman* courage was for ever loſt, and their affairs deſperate. One of them however, a venerable old man, declared, that he judged differently of the dumb confuſion of the *Romans: This obſtinate ſilence, their eyes fixed on the ground, their ears deaf to all conſolation, are tokens of an inward rage that ferments without evaporating. If I am not wholly unacquainted with the temper of the* Romans, *their remembrance of the*

333d Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 9. c. 7.

Caudine

Caudine Treaty *will be more fatal to the* Samnites *than to them. The* Romans *will have it in their thoughts wherever they ſhall encounter the* Samnites; *but theſe will not every where find* Caudine Streights.

Year of ROME cccexxxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twenty.

In the mean time the People at *Rome*, without orders from the Senate, and as it were by tacit conſent, put on the deepeſt mourning. The ſhops all around the *Forum* were ſhut up; there was a vacation in all the Courts of Juſtice, before any proclamation for it; gold rings and robes of magnificence were laid aſide; and the city was more dejected, if poſſible, than the army itſelf. Before the arrival of the troops, it was the language of the People, angry not only with the commanders, but with the guiltleſs ſoldiers, that they ought not to be received into the city: But as ſoon as they appeared, the publick indignation changed into pity. Nevertheleſs, they did not enter the city till night; and then every one ſtole home, and hid himſelf in his own houſe: Even the *Conſuls* baniſhed themſelves from ſociety, after they had performed the indiſpenſable duty of naming a *Dictator* to hold the *Comitia*. They pitched upon *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*; but ſome defect being found in the nomination, *Æmilius Papus* was ſubſtituted in his room. Nor did this *Dictator* hold the Aſſembly for the Elections; no Magiſtrate of this unfortunate year could pleaſe the People; the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*.

133d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 7.

§. II. AND now all eyes were caſt on two of the greateſt men in the Republick, *Papirius* * *Curſor* and *Publilius* ‖ *Philo*. Theſe, being choſen

* A ſecond time.
‖ A third time.

Year of ROME cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

ſen *Conſuls* in the *Comitia*, entered upon their office the very day of their election. Their firſt care was to obtain a decree of the Senate, importing, that there had been no defect in point of religion in their inauguration: After which the *Fathers* took into conſideration the Treaty made with the *Samnites* by the late *Conſuls*. *Poſthumius*, one of thoſe unfortunate Generals, was called upon to ſpeak firſt. He addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly with an air of great modeſty and humility, own'd the Treaty to be infamous, but declared, that the *Roman* People were not bound by it, ſince it had been made without their orders; and that the Republick was obliged in juſtice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* thoſe of the army who had ſigned it. And he adviſed therefore that the new *Conſuls* ſhould lead a new army into the field; but that, before they enter'd upon action, they ſhould ſurrender to the mercy of the *Samnites* his Collegue and him, with all the other officers who had been parties to the convention. The Senators were ſtruck with admiration at the generoſity of *Poſthumius*; and their compaſſion for him did not fall ſhort of their eſteem of his heroick virtue. However, they all approv'd of the propoſal, except two *Tribunes of the People*, who had (probably) been raiſed to that office ſince their return from the *Caudine Forks*. Theſe contended, not only *that the motion made by* Poſthumius *was unjuſt with regard to the perſons concern'd in the Treaty, but that it was by no means ſufficient to diſcharge the demands which the* SAMNITES *had upon* Rome;

134th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 8.

Rome; *and that as to themſelves, they were* Sacroſanct Magiſtrates, *inviolable, and not to be deliver'd up to the enemy.* To the laſt of theſe pleas *Poſthumius* replied, *That the Senate might defer the delivering up of the* Tribunes *till their* Holineſſes *were out of Office, and then (if his advice might be followed) cauſe them to be beaten with rods in the publick* Forum, *by way of Uſury for the delay.* But as to himſelf, and the reſt of the *Profane* Officers concern'd in the Treaty, he preſs'd the immediate execution of his propoſal; and he offer'd ſuch plauſible arguments to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* Convention, and the ſufficiency of the ſatisfaction deſigned for the *Samnites*, that the Senate, whether convinced or not, were univerſally pleaſed with his diſcourſe, and acquieſced in his project. Nay, the two Tribunes themſelves, who had at firſt oppoſed it, conſented at length to follow the fate of their companions, and to that end abdicated their office.

Year of ROME cccexxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

134th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 9, 10.

Poſthumius's propoſal was no ſooner paſs'd into a decree of the Senate, but it diſpell'd that cloud of ſorrow, with which the *Romans* had been covered ever ſince the misfortune of *Caudium*; it ſeem'd to them like the breaking out of the ſun upon the city after a total eclipſe. Nothing was talk'd of but the generoſity of *Poſthumius*, whoſe *Devotement* they compared to that of *Decius*; and the *Roman* youth were ſo animated, that there needed no orders to raiſe Troops; a new army was formed almoſt wholly of Voluntiers, and the *Caudine Legions* were again enrolled. As ſoon as

Year of ROME cccccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

134th Conſulſhip.

theſe forces came near the enemy's camp, preparations were made for ſurrendering up the *Roman* Officers in due form by a *Fecialis*. *Cornelius Arvina* was the perſon appointed for this purpoſe; who having conducted the Priſoners bound into *Pontius*'s preſence, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following words: *Since theſe men undertook without any commiſſion to conclude a Treaty of peace with you, and committed a crime in ſo doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourſelves from any ſhare in the puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved.* The *Fecialis* had ſcarce utter'd theſe words when *Poſthumius*, as if offended with what he had ſaid, gave him a hard blow on the thigh with his knee, and looking ſternly at him, *I am now*, ſaid he, *a* Samnite, *and you an Ambaſſador of* Rome: *I have therefore by this blow violated the Law of Nations, and you are thereby authoriſed to make war upon us.* But this little, low artifice ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the *Samnite* General, and make him deſpiſe the author of it. He laid before *Poſthumius* and the *Fecialis* the injuſtice and baſeneſs of their proceedings. He told them, that if the *Roman* People would preſerve their honour untainted, and maintain the rules of equity, they muſt either perform the conditions of the Treaty, or ſend the *Roman* army again into the *Caudine Forks*. And as to *Poſthumius*'s behaviour to the *Fecialis*, he thus expoſtulated: *Will you be able to impoſe on the Gods by theſe thin diſguiſes? Will they take* Poſthumius *for a* Samnite, *and conſider the blow he has given, as an inſult offer'd to the* Roman *People by a* Samnite?

Livy, B. 9. c. 11.

nite? *Is it thus that you ſport with Religion and the Faith of Treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the Gravity of a* Conſul, *and the Dignity of a Great Nation?* Lictors, *untie the Priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe.* And thus the *Romans* were diſmiſſed.

Year of ROME cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

134th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 12.

§. III. BUT now the *Samnites* repented too late of their not having hearkened to the wiſe counſels of old *Herennius*; they had a foreboding, ſays *Livy*, of the misfortunes that afterwards befel them; while the *Romans*, on the other hand, look'd upon the liberty they had obtained of making war as equal to victory. Not long after, the inhabitants of *Satricum* joined with a body of *Samnites*, who ſurpriſed *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, in the night, and, having by a promiſe of quarter engaged the greater part of the inhabitants to lay down their arms, burnt them afterwards alive. *Capua* likewiſe at this time prepared for a revolt; the chief Citizens enter'd into a plot to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. This, with ſome other alarms, induced the Republick to name a *Dictator*, the *Conſuls* being employed in the war. *C. Mænius* was choſen to that dignity, and he c. 26. appointed *M. Foſlius* to be his General of Horſe. The new *Dictator*'s commiſſion extended only to the making inquiry into ſtate Crimes, and puniſhing them. And there needed no more to put a ſtop to the revolt of *Capua*; for the terror of a judge from whom there lay no appeal became ſo great throughout all *Campania*, that the heads of the conſpiracy kill'd themſelves to avoid puniſhment.

Year of ROME cccexxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

334th Conſulſhip.

After this, the *Dictator* pretending that the powers given him by his commiſſion were not confined to the taking cognizance of traiterous perſons and practices at CAPUA only, but extended to the cognizance of all conſpirators and conſpiracies whatſoever and whereſoever againſt the *Roman* State; and pretending farther that all intriguing and canvaſſing for offices was a kind of Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth, he cited ſeveral of the *Patricians* to appear before him on accuſations of that kind. The accuſed having no other reſource, called upon the Tribunes to interpoſe their negative, and put a ſtop to the proſecution; but not one of them would interfere in the matter. Hereupon the whole body of the Nobles took the alarm. They exclaimed in all places, that the *Patricians*, to whom, being nobly born, the way (if not obſtructed by indirect practices) was naturally open and eaſy to all Honours and Dignities, were not the perſons on whom this crime ſhould be charged; but certain upſtart Gentlemen, ſuch as the *Dictator* himſelf and his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who indeed ought rather to be proſecuted themſelves, than ſit as judges of other men; and they threatened that they would make the two inquiſitors know this, ſo ſoon as their Magiſtracy ſhould be expired.

Mænius, though free from guilt, yet fearing leſt his reputation ſhould ſuffer by the calumny, aſſembled the People, and laid before them the uprightneſs of his intentions and the impartiality of his conduct; and then, to give them a farther proof

proof of his innocence, abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*, that he might be brought to a trial. *Foſlius* alſo, for the like purpoſe, reſigned his office at the ſame time. The Senate, by a ſpecial commiſſion, appointed the *Conſuls* of the year (probably recalled to *Rome* on this occaſion) to be their judges; who having heard the witneſſes, and fully examined the affair, honourably acquitted the accuſed [a].

Year of ROME cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

134th Conſulſhip.

[a] The account which has been given of MÆNIUS's affair is taken from *Livy*, who adds, that PUBLILIUS alſo was ſoon after brought to a trial on the ſame ſort of accuſation, and acquitted; but then *Livy* refers both theſe trials to the year 439, when *Mænius* was indeed *Dictator*, according to the *Capitoline Marbles*, but *Publilius* was not *Conſul*.

If *Publilius* ſtood his trial the ſame year that he was *Conſul*, we muſt ſuppoſe that he alſo, as the *Jeſuits Catrou* and *Rouillé* have well obſerv'd, abdicated his office in order thereto. Theſe learn'd Fathers conjecture that this was the caſe, and that *Papirius* being thereby left ſole *Conſul*, named to the Dictatorſhip *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, who appointed *Papirius* to be his General of the Horſe, intending to be governed in all difficulties by his advice, as the ableſt man in all the Commonwealth to conduct the preſent war: and what confirms the opinion, that the war was conducted by PAPIRIUS this year in quality only of *Maſter of the Horſe*, is, that he had no TRIUMPH for his conqueſts.

What induces the *Jeſuits* (who have been followed in the Text) to place the trial of *Mænius* in the year 433, is not the authority only of the *Capitoline Marbles* (which make *Mænius* Dictator this year) but a paſſage of *Livy* * himſelf, who in the year 443 makes *Sempronius* the Tribune ſpeak of MÆNIUS *being created Dictator, to inquire into State Crimes, and of his abdication in order to ſtand his own Trial*, as things which had happen'd *within ten years:* an expreſſion which he pro-

* *Livy*, B. 9. c. 34.

Year of ROME cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

This kind of inquiſition deſcended afterwards to men of leſs diſtinction, and in a ſhort time was intirely ſtopt by force of thoſe very intrigues and cabals againſt which it was levelled.

134th Conſulſhip.

probably would not have uſed, if thoſe events had happen'd but four years before.

It is indeed very difficult to reconcile the *Capitoline Marbles* with *Livy*, who ſeems to be at a loſs in this part of the Hiſtory, and to have made ſome confuſion of times and events, not diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral Dictatorſhips of *Mænius* as they are mark'd on thoſe Marbles.

The Marbles give us three Dictators this year, *C. Mænius*, *L. Cornelius*, and *T. Manlius*. *Livy* mentions only the ſecond, and in this manner; tho' he aſcribes the exploits of the campaign, we are going to enter upon, to *Papirius* and *Publilius*, the *Conſuls* of the year, yet he owns that the thing is doubtful, and that ſome give thoſe exploits to *L. Cornelius* created *Dictator*, and *Papirius Curſor* his *Maſter of the Horſe*.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. *The* Romans *give the* Samnites *a great overthrow, and take from them* Luceria *in* Apulia; §. II. *And* Ferentum; *and recover* Satricum. *The character of* Papirius Curſor. §. III. *A two years Truce is granted to ſome Cities of* Samnium. *The* Roman *arms proſper in* Apulia. Campania *is turned into a* Roman Præfecture. Two *new* Tribes *are formed, which make the whole number thirty-one.* §. IV. *All* Apulia *is ſubdued.* Antium *receives laws from* Rome *for its future government.* Saticula, *a* Campanian *City, and* Sora (*in the country of the* Volſci) *both in alliance with the* Samnites, *are taken by the* Ro-

Romans. §. V. *The Cruelty of the* Romans *towards three Cities of the* Auſones. *The* Samnite *war continues.*

§. I. IT ſeems highly probable from ſome paſſages of *Livy*, joined with the authority of the *Capitoline Marbles*, that the operations of the campaign this year were governed by *Papirius Curſor*, not in quality of *Conſul*, and Collegue to *Publilius*, but of *General of the Horſe* to *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, created *Dictator*. Year of ROME cccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen. 134th Conſulſhip.

The chief view of the *Roman* Generals being to reſcue the 600 *Knights*, who had been delivered up to the *Samnites* as hoſtages, they to that end divided their forces. *Cornelius* put himſelf at the head of the ſame troops that had paſſed *under the Yoke*, and led them againſt the victorious *Caudine* Legions of the *Samnites*. *Papirius* marched towards *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the *Roman* hoſtages were kept priſoners. *Pontius* the *Samnite* General was for ſome time in ſuſpence, whether to march to the relief of *Luceria*, or ſtay to make head againſt the *Dictator*. He feared that, if he marched, the enemy would fall upon his rear; and that, if he did not march, *Luceria* would be loſt. His reſolution at length was to put all to the hazard of a battle. The *Dictator* no ſooner perceiv'd the intention of the enemy, but he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and would have exhorted them, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, to behave themſelves with the courage becoming *Romans*; but he found his harangue to be intirely needleſs. The ſoldiers, mindful of their late diſgrace, were ſo Livy, B. 9. c. 12. c. 13.

Year of ROME ccccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

eager to fight, that they gave no attention to him; with one voice they all cried out, *To Battle.* When they drew near the *Samnites*, they preſs'd their *Enſigns* to march faſter, and, being ſpirited by revenge to a degree of fury, ruſh'd upon the enemy without obſerving their uſual order, or waiting the command of their General. Nothing could ſtand before them; the *Samnites* were routed, and their camp taken and plundered.

334th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 13.

On the other hand *Papirius* having entered *Apulia*, and being aſſiſted by the people of *Arpi* (old enemies of the *Samnites*, their neighbours) had laid ſiege to *Luceria*, but was ſo ſtraitened by the difficulty of getting proviſions, that the arrival of the victorious army at his camp proved very ſeaſonable. The *Dictator* diſperſed his *Legions* about the country, intercepted the convoys that were going to the beſieged, and facilitated the bringing of proviſions to the camp of *Papirius*. The *Samnites*, who had likewiſe an army incamped near *Luceria*, finding that the place could not hold out long, reſolved to give the beſiegers battle. Every thing was getting ready on both ſides for a general action, when Ambaſſadors arrived from *Tarentum*, to put a ſtop to all hoſtilities by their mediation; and they threatened to declare themſelves againſt whichever party ſhould perſiſt in carrying on the war. *Papirius* pretending to liſten ſeriouſly to what they ſaid, told them, that he would conſult the *Dictator*; and accordingly he did ſo, but it was only on the meaſures to be taken in the engagement, for which he inſtantly prepared. While the *Romans* were ſacrificing, as

§. 14.

was cuſtomary before a battle, the *Tarentine* Ambaſſadors came for their anſwer. *The Chickens*, cried *Papirius*, *feed perfectly well*; *ſo the Keeper of them tells us. The Gods too are much pleaſed with* our Sacrifices: *under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive.* He then led his troops out of the camp, ridiculing the vanity of a little inſignificant People, who would needs make themſelves mediators of a peace between two powerful nations, when at the ſame time *Tarentum* could hardly ſupport itſelf under its own inteſtine diviſions.

Year of ROME cccexxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

134th Conſulſhip.

But now the *Samnites* abſolutely declined the fight, alledging that *Papirius* had deceived them by falſe hopes of an accommodation, and declaring, that out of reſpect to the *Tarentines* they would keep themſelves upon the defenſive within their camp. This timorouſneſs of the enemy encouraged the *Romans* to attack them in their intrenchments, which they did with ſo much ſucceſs, and with ſuch a ſpirit of vengeance, that ſcarce any of the *Samnites* would have eſcaped the ſlaughter, if the *Roman* Generals had not reſtrained the fury of their troops, in regard to the ſix hundred *Knights* in *Luceria*, whom the beſieged might perhaps, in revenge and deſpair, put to death. The Town being ſorely diſtreſſed by famine, the garriſon ſent an offer to releaſe the ſix hundred Hoſtages, on condition that the *Romans* would raiſe the ſiege. *Papirius* told the Deputies who came to him with this propoſal, that they ſhould have conſulted *Pontius* about the treatment proper to be expect-

Livy. B. 9. c. 15.

ed

Year of ROME ccccxxxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nineteen.

ed by the vanquiſhed; and he peremptorily inſiſted, that all the ſoldiers in the place, to the number of 7000, ſhould unarmed, and with only one garment each, paſs *under the Yoke*, and *Pontius*, who had thrown himſelf into the Town, at the head of them. Theſe conditions were accepted; and thus the *Romans* retaliated the ignominy they had undergone at the *Caudine Forks* and recovered their hoſtages.

134th Conſulſhip. Oroſ. B. 3. c. 15. and others.

§. II. AFTER the return of *Papirius* with the army to *Rome*, *Cornelius* laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, and another *Dictator*, *T. Manlius*, was choſen (as it ſeems probable) only to hold the Centuriate *Comitia*, where *Papirius* * *Curſor* was again raiſed to the *Conſulate*, and *Q. Aulius* † *Cerretanus* given him for a Collegue. The latter defeated the *Ferentani* in *Apulia*, and took their City, *Ferentum*. The former reduced *Satricum*, a City of *Latium*, which, as we have before obſerved, had gone over to the *Samnites*, though its inhabitants had obtained the privileges of *Roman Citizens*.

Faſt. Capit.

* A third time.
† A ſecond time.

Year of ROME ccccxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighteen.

135th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 16.

The *Satricans*, as ſoon as the *Roman* army appeared before the walls, ſent out a Deputation to ſue for Peace. *Papirius* refuſed to grant it, unleſs they would kill all the *Samnite* garriſon, or deliver them alive into his hands. And, when they expoſtulated with him, aſking, How it was poſſible for them, who were but weak and unarmed, to maſter a garriſon armed and ſtrong? he bid them adviſe with thoſe by whoſe counſel they had received that garriſon into the Town. The *Satrican* Senate, upon the report of this anſwer from the

the *Conſul*, were divided in opinion what meaſures to take, one part conſiſting of thoſe who had counſelled the revolt to the *Samnites*, the other of the adherents to *Rome*. It happened that the garriſon, for want of proviſions to hold out a ſiege, had reſolved to march away the night following. That faction therefore which had called the *Samnites* in, thought it ſufficient to give the *Conſul* notice at what hour they would begin to move, through what gate they were to paſs, and what road they were to take; but the other party, not content with this, opened another gate to the *Romans* at the ſame hour; ſo that the *Samnite* garriſon were ſurpriſed, and cut to pieces, and the town ſeized the ſame inſtant. *Papirius*, after an inquiſition by torture concerning the chief authors of the revolt, cauſed the moſt guilty to be ſcourged and beheaded, diſarmed all the *Satricans*, and placed a ſtrong body of troops in the place.

Year of ROME cccxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighteen.

135th Conſulſhip.

For this conqueſt *Papirius*, at his return to *Rome*, had the honour of a Triumph, which had not been granted him for his more important exploits the year before, (probably) becauſe he had acted under the *Auſpices* of a ſuperior Magiſtrate.

This *Papirius* is the man whom *Livy* repreſents as a Hero, who would have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had that Conqueror turned his arms Weſtward, and come into *Italy*. He was no leſs remarkable for his vigour of mind, military ſkill and courage, than for his ſtrength of body, and wonderful agility in running, which got him the ſurname of *Curſor*: and whether it were

Livy, B. 9. c. 16.

Year of ROME cccxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eighteen.

235th Conſulſhip.

were owing to his robuſt conſtitution, or continual exerciſe, no-body eat or drank more than he; but he was alſo indefatigable in war, ſharing the ſevereſt toils of it without hurting his health. Never had the *Roman* Horſe or Foot a General that kept them to harder ſervice. 'Tis reported of him, that his Cavalry having taken the freedom to deſire a little relaxation from their fatigues, after an expedition which had been ſucceſsful, he anſwer'd, *Yes, by all means; when you alight from your Horſes, I excuſe you from the trouble of ſtroaking their backs.* *Papirius*, ſo ſevere in point of diſcipline, was naturally facetious, but not very gentle even in his jeſts. Walking one day before the door of his tent, while he was *Dictator*, he ordered a certain *Prætor* of *Præneſte*, who in a battle had behaved himſelf ſhamefully, to be called, and, as ſoon as he appeared, bid the LICTOR *prepare his Ax:* When he ſaw the poor *Præneſtine* ready to die with fear at the ſound of thoſe words, he preſently added, *Diſpatch*, Lictor, *cut away this ſtump of a tree that ſpoils my walk:* After which he only fined the *Prætor*, and diſmiſſed him. Such was the character of the renowned *Papirius*.

Aurelius Victor de Viris Illuſtribus, c. 31.

Year of ROME cccxxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventeen.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *L. Plautius Venno* and *M. Foſlius Flaccinator*, many of the *Samnite* Cities ſent Deputies to the *Roman* Senate to aſk Peace; but theſe being referred to the People in *Comitia* (where the *Caudine* Legions doubtleſs made a part of the aſſembly) the *Samnites* could obtain, by urgent intreaties, no more than a two years Truce.

236th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 20,

And

Year of ROME ccccxxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventeen.

136th Conſulſhip.

And now the terror, ſpread throughout *Apulia* by the *Roman* army, which *Plautius* conducted thither, was ſo great, that the two Cities of *Teanum* and *Canuſium* ſurrendered, to avoid being pillaged. *Capua* likewiſe being ſo divided by inteſtine ſeditions, as to be no longer in a condition to govern herſelf, deſired the *Romans* to give her a Governor and new Laws; and it was at this time that the *Romans* firſt turn'd *Campania* into a *Præfecture*[a], and ſent thither a *Præfect*.

It was perhaps to make the *Campanians* ſome ſort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather to keep them to their duty, that a new *Roman* Tribe was formed in their country. It was called the *Falernian Tribe*, doubtleſs from the hill *Falernus*, this Tribe poſſeſſing the delightful plain which ſurrounded

[a] All the Cities which the Republick ſubdued were not upon the ſame foot. Some were called *Colonies*, ſome *Municipia*, and ſome *Præfectures*.

The *Colonies* choſe their Governors out of their own inhabitants, and, tho' ſubject to the *Roman* People, were a kind of petty Republicks, modelled after the plan of *Rome*.

The *Municipia* kept their old laws, and the cuſtoms they had among them before they became *Roman*.

The *Præfectures* were in a worſe condition than either the *Colonies* or *Municipia*. The *Præfects*, who were ſent to them annually from *Rome*, had a power of changing their laws, and wholly ſwallowed up the authority of the other Magiſtrates. Some of theſe *Præfects* were choſen by the *Roman* People; and others received their commiſſions from the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and were, properly ſpeaking, no more than his ſubſtitutes in the Provinces. The diſcord among the *Campanians* gave the firſt occaſion to the inſtitution of *Præfects*. And afterwards the *Romans* eſtabliſhed this form of Government in ſeveral parts of *Italy*. *C. & R.*

that

Year of ROME cccexxxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeventeen.

that hill. Another Tribe was alſo eſtabliſhed on the borders of the *Ufens*, and was therefore called *Tribus Ufentina.* So that the *Romans* had now thirty-one Tribes, all which had a right of ſuffrage in the *Comitia by Tribes.*

136th Conſulſhip. Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 9. c. 19.

By a *Cenſus* taken this year, the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred and fifty thouſand.

Year of ROME cccexxxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſixteen.

§. IV. THIS happy war was followed by another as proſperous, under the adminiſtration of *Q. Æmilius Barbula* and *C. Junius Brutus*, who ſubdued and quieted *Apulia*. *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in aſking a Governor and Laws from *Rome*. But this City was not made a *Roman Præfecture*, nor did ſhe receive laws from a ſingle Magiſtrate ſent thither for that purpoſe. The care of making the laws by which the Magiſtrates were to govern was left to the Patrons of the *Colony*. It was then cuſtomary not only for private families, but likewiſe for Cities and afterwards for Provinces to have their Patrons, who were often of the principal Nobility of *Rome*. The Patrons of the *Municipia* were generally of the families of thoſe *Conſuls* who had conquered them; and the Protectors of the *Colonies* were the children of thoſe who had received the commiſſion to plant them.

137th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 9. c. 20.

Y. of R. cccexxxvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fifteen.

The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, were ſcarce entered upon their office, when the Republick, either from a diſtruſt of their abilities, or for ſome other reaſon unknown, obliged them to nominate a *Dictator*, to carry on the war. They named *L. Æmilius*, who immediately

138th Conſulſhip.

diately put himſelf at the head of the *Legions*. He inveſted *Saticula*, a City of *Campania*, in alliance with the *Samnites*, and defeated the *Samnite* army that came to relieve it; but his Dictatorſhip expired before he could take the place. The *Samnites* not hoping to defend it, laid ſiege to *Pliſtia*.

Year of ROME cccexxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fourteen.

139th Conſulſhip.

The *Romans* had now got ſuch a habit of ſuffering none but *Dictators* to command their armies, that tho' the famous *Papirius* * *Curſor* and *Publilius Philo* † were choſen *Conſuls* for the following year, we find *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who had been formerly General of the Horſe to *Papirius*, and ever ſince his implacable enemy, raiſed at this time to the *Dictatorſhip*, and commiſſion'd to carry on the ſiege of *Saticula*. While he was making his attack, the *Samnites* came from before *Pliſtia*, and their cavalry inſulted the *Roman* camp, in which he had left his Cavalry under the command of *Aulius Cerretanus*, his General of the Horſe. *Aulius*, without conſulting the *Dictator*, ſallied out with the *Roman* Knights, and, having diſcover'd the General of the *Samnites*, ruſh'd on him, and laid him dead with the firſt puſh of his lance; but having penetrated too far into the enemy's ſquadrons, he could not retire; and the *Samnites* gave their General's brother the glory of revenging his death: He diſmounted *Aulius*, and then ſtabbed him as he lay upon the ground. Hereupon the *Roman Knights* alighted from their horſes, to recover their General's dead body; the *Samnite* cavalry did the ſame, and a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans*

* A fourth time. Faſt. Capit.

† A fourth time.

Livy, B. 9. c. 22.

Year of ROME ccccxxxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred fourteen.

mans prevailed. The *Samnites* returned to the ſiege of *Pliſtia*† (a City in alliance with the *Romans*) and took it by aſſault.

In the mean time *Saticula* capitulated, and then the *Dictator* marched to beſiege *Sora*, on the banks of the *Liris*, in the country of the *Volſci*. The *Sorans* had gone over to the *Samnites*, having firſt maſſacred a *Roman Colony* which had been ſettled in their city. To defend this place the *Samnites* followed the *Dictator* with all expedition. When *Æmilius* underſtood that they were not far behind him, he faced about, marched to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow paſs of *Lautulæ*. The ſucceſs of the battle was doubtful, night put an end to it, and both armies continued their march towards *Sora*.

And now the *Dictator* choſe a new General of the Horſe, *L. Fabius*, a kinſman of his own, to ſucceed *Aulius*. He ordered him to go to *Rome*, fetch thence ſome freſh levies, conceal his march from the enemy, and, when he had poſted his men in ſome ſecure place near *Sora*, to wait the ſignal for moving. This was no ſooner executed, than the *Dictator* pretended fear, and kept cloſe within his intrenchments, in hopes thereby to draw the *Samnite* army near his camp; and it did not fail to have the deſired effect. Then on a ſudden giving the ſignal for battle, he ſallied out of his intrenchments, without letting the ſoldiers know the ſuccours he had in readineſs. They imagined it was ſome great diſtreſs, which made their General ſo ſuddenly change his reſolution; and he con-

239th Conſulſhip.

†The ſituation of this place is unknown. Livy, B. 9. c. 23.

confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them that *their caſe was ſuch, that they muſt either conquer or periſh; That he had ordered fire to be ſet to their tents and baggage, but that they might ſoon make up the loſs, by the plunder of the rebellious cities.* However, his private orders were to ſet fire only to thoſe tents which were next the ramparts, and this was to be the ſignal for the General of the Horſe to move to his aſſiſtance, and fall upon the enemy in the rear. Every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, and by this ſtratagem the *Samnites* were intirely defeated, and their camp plundered; and the *Roman* ſoldiers had the farther joy of finding at their return to their own camp, that their tents and baggage were not burnt.

Year of ROME cccxxxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirteen.

140th Conſulſhip.

After this the *Dictator* laid ſiege to *Sora*, and the ſiege was continued by his ſucceſſors in the command of the army, *M. Poetelius Libo* and *C. Sulpicius* * *Longus*, the new *Conſuls*. They pitched their camp almoſt cloſe to the walls of the Town. While they were deliberating and in doubt in what part to make their attacks, a deſerter from the beſieged ſuggeſted to them a ſtratagem for getting poſſeſſion of the place. What he propoſed appeared to the *Conſuls* practicable; and, in order to its execution, they, by the advice of the deſerter, removed their camp to the diſtance of ſix miles from the Place: to the end that this might throw the garriſon into careleſſneſs and ſecurity. Next night the deſerter, having poſted ſome cohorts near the town, in a woody ſpot, where they could lie concealed, ſtole with ten

Livy, B. 9. c. 24.

* A third time.

Year of ROME cccexxxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirteen.

chooſen *Roman* ſoldiers into the citadel. Then placing his men in a narrow ſteep path, that led from the Citadel to the Town, and where they might eaſily defend themſelves againſt a great multitude, he haſtily ran down into the Town, crying out, *To arms, to arms, the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs.* A fright ſeized the inhabitants; and in their haſte to eſcape they broke down the gates. The *Roman* cohorts, rouſed by the noiſe, ruſhed in at one of them, putting all they found in the ſtreets to the ſword. In the morning by day-break the *Conſul*, with his army, entered the Town, already in the poſſeſſion of the *Roman* cohorts. Two hundred and twenty-five of the priſoners, who had been the chief authors of the revolt, and of the maſſacre of the *Roman Colony* there ſettled, he ſent to *Rome*, where they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded.

140th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 9. c. 25.

§. V. THE reduction of *Sora* was followed by the ſurpriſing of three Cities of the *Auſones* (*Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia*) on the ſame day and at the ſame hour. The *Romans* ſeized theſe places, and barbarouſly maſſacred all the inhabitants, merely upon an accuſation (without proof) brought to the *Conſuls* by twelve traitors of the nation, of their having formed a deſign to revolt. But *Livy* tells us, that this barbarity was owing to the abſence of the Generals when the Towns were ſeized.

c. 26.

Luceria, which had rebelled, being taken by aſſault, not only the *Samnite* garriſon, but the Citizens were put to the ſword, and a *Colony* of two

thouſand five hundred men ſent thither from *Rome*, to ſecure it for the future againſt all attempts.

Year of ROME cccxxx x. Bef. J. C. Three hundred thirteen.

Notwithſtanding all theſe examples of ſeverity, the reſtleſs *Campanians* prepared once more to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; ſo that the Republick thought fit to name a Dictator[a], *C. Mænius*, to go with an army into their country, and keep them in awe. In the mean time the Conſul *Sulpicius* appear'd with his army near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* had drawn together a great body of troops, and were waiting for the inſurrection of the *Campanians*, who they hoped would join them. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* loſt thirty thouſand men killed or taken[b]. And the conqueror marched his army to *Bovianum*, one of the principal Cities, if not the Capital of *Samnium*, and paſſed the winter before it.

140th Conſulſhip. Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 9. c. 27.

Year of ROME CCCCXL. Bef. J. C. Three hundred twelve.

L. Papirius Curſor (a 5th time) and *C. Junius Brutus* (a 2d time) were now raiſed to the *Conſulate*: but ſoon after, for what reaſon is unknown, the *Fathers* ordered a *Dictator* to be created. The nomination fell upon *C. Poetelius Libo*, and he was appointed to command the forces. He repaired to the camp near *Bovianum*, and in a ſhort time quitted that poſt to retake *Fregellæ* from the enemy. They evacuated the place without ſtanding a ſiege, and then the *Dictator* appeared before *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, which he quickly reduced, together with *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the ſame province. This year the *Romans*

141ſt Conſulſhip. Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 9. c. 28.

[a] See the Note at the end of Chapter xiv.

[b] *Livy* gives the Conſul *Poetelius* a ſhare in this victory.

Year of ROME CCCCXLI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eleven.

planted a Colony at *Sueſſa*, a city of the *Aurunci*; and another in *Pontiæ*, an iſland which the *Volſci* had inhabited, and which lay within ſight of their coaſt. And the Senate paſſed a Decree for planting a Colony at *Interamna* and *Caſinum*.

142d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 29.

Whilſt *M. Valerius Maximus*, one of the *Conſuls* for the new year, was carrying on the war againſt the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius Mus*, the other, was lying ſick at *Rome*, the Senate received advice, that the *Hetrurians* threaten'd the Republick with an invaſion, upon which they order'd *Decius* to name a *Dictator*[b]. *C. Sulpicius Longus* being promoted to that dignity, raiſed a powerful army, and made all the preparations which the apprehenſion of a war with ſo populous a nation and ſo near a neighbour required. Nevertheleſs he was not in haſte to enter upon action; he kept himſelf upon the defenſive, and waited till the *Hetrurians* ſhould begin the hoſtilities; and this moderation had the effect he deſired. The *Hetrurians* upon farther reflections ſuſpended their deſign, and continued quiet within their own bounds.

[b] According to *Livy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus* was named *Dictator*; but according to the *Faſt. Cap. Junius* was General of the Horſe to *Sulpicius*.

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *one of the* Cenſors *of* Rome, *admits the* Sons of Freed Men into the Senate. *The People reform this abuſe the next year, and make ſome new regulations.*

§. II.

§. II. Rome *has war with the* Hetrurians *and* Samnites. §. III. Appius *obſtinately refuſes to quit his office, tho' his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired. He is proſecuted before the People.*

Year of ROME CCCCXLI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eleven.

142d Conſulſhip. Pomponius de Origine Juris.

§. I. THE domeſtick tranquillity of the Republick was at this time a little diſturbed by *Appius Claudius* one of the *Cenſors*. He was an able *Lawyer*, and an Oracle among the *Romans* in all knotty points of law, but a lover of innovations, taking great delight in overturning the moſt ancient inſtitutions, and in ſetting up for a Legiſlator. Hitherto none but *Patricians*, or the moſt conſiderable of the Commons, had been admitted into the Senate; but *Appius* introduced there the *Libertini*, i. e. *the ſons of thoſe who had been ſlaves, and had obtained their liberty.* Having thus debaſed the Senate, he attacked the Prieſthood, which had always been confined to the Nobility. The oldeſt Prieſthood in *Rome* was that belonging to the Altar, called *Ara Maxima*, erected by *Evander* to *Hercules*; it had been given at that very time to an old man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever ſince in his family. The *Cenſor* prevailed with the *Potitii* [a] to reſign this Prieſthood to the Slaves belonging

D. Hal. B. 1. c. 40. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 1. Livy, B. 9. c. 29.

[a] *Livy* (B 9. c. 29.) ſpeaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Potitii*, conſiſting of twelve families, in which were thirty perſons at or paſt the age of puberty, periſhed within the year; a warning from the angry Gods not to attempt innovations in Religion: And that *Appius* alſo was ſtruck blind ſome years after, as a puniſhment for his profaneneſs.

Year of ROME cccclxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eleven.

to the publick, and employed in the publick works.

But if *Appius* thus brought a blemiſh on the Senate and Prieſthood, he made his country amends by the uſeful works he undertook with ſucceſs; particularly an Aqueduct ſeven miles long, whereby he ſupplied *Rome* with plenty of wholeſome water, which it before wanted. He likewiſe made that famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which was called the *Appian Way*, and which *Julius Cæſar* afterwards continued from *Capua* to *Brunduſium* on the *Adriatick*. It laſted intire above eight hundred years.

342d Conſulſhip. Frontinus de Aquæductis, B. 1.

Year of ROME ccccxliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ten.

The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *C. Junius* * *Brutus* and *Q. Æmilius* † *Barbula*, were no ſooner entered on their office, but they complained to the People in *Comitia* of *Appius*'s new liſt of Senators, and cancelled it, ſo that the Senate reſumed its former luſtre. The people at the ſame time not only recovered an old privilege, but extended it farther than before: By a law in the year 391, the *Comitia* had aſſumed the privilege of chuſing ſix out of twenty-four *Legionary Tribunes* in the *Conſular* armies, conſiſting of four *Legions*. This privilege had been for ſome time paſt uſurped from them by the *Conſuls* and *Dictators*; but now it was decreed, that the People ſhould, inſtead of ſix, name ſixteen of the twenty-four *Tribunes*. At this time likewiſe the People, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their Tribunes, appointed two ‡ officers to take care of the naval affairs of the Republick.

343d Conſulſhip.

* A third time.

† A ſecond time. Livy, B. 9. c. 30.

‡ Duumviri Navales.

§. II.

§. II. WHILST the *Romans* were employed in theſe regulations, their *Conſuls* prepared to lead two armies [b] into the field. It fell to *Brutus*'s lot to carry on the war in *Samnium*, and to *Æmilius* to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, who had now begun hoſtilities. *Æmilius* found the enemy ready to lay ſiege to *Sutrium*, a Town in alliance with the *Romans*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, and a ſort of key to the *Roman State* on that ſide. The *Hetrurians*, truſting to their numbers, ventured a battle, and were defeated by the *Conſul*, who obtained a Triumph at *Rome*. Nor was *Junius Brutus* leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*. He firſt took *Cluvia* by aſſault, and then *Bovi-*

Year of ROME ccccxlii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ten.

143d Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 9. c. 32.

c. 31.

[b] *Livy* tells us (B. 9. c. 30.) that while the *Romans* were burthened with the care of two dangerous wars, an adventure happened too trifling to be mentioned in Hiſtory, were it not for the relation it had to Religion. All the publick Pipers, or Players upon the Flute, ran away together on a ſudden to *Tybur* in great dudgeon, becauſe the *Cenſors* had forbid them to feaſt and carouſe in the Temple of *Jupiter*, as they had uſed to do; ſo that there was nobody to play during the pomp of the ſacrifices. The Senate, with a pious concern, diſpatched ſome Deputies to *Tybur*, who were to endeavour to prevail with the People of that place, that the Pipers might be ſent back to *Rome*. The *Tyburtes* not being able to win upon theſe fellows, by perſuaſion, to return, contrived, on occaſion of ſome feſtival, to make them all dead-drunk, and then ſent them home in carts. When they awaked in the morning, they found themſelves in the middle of the *Forum*. The People, who were got together about them, having prevailed upon them to ſtay, the privilege of feaſting in the Temple was reſtored to them, and a new one was granted them of ſtrolling about the city three days every year in maſquerade, piping and ſinging. This cuſtom ſtill prevailed in *Livy*'s time.

Year of ROME cccxlii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ten.

anum, the ſpoils of which he gave to his ſoldiers. And now the *Samnites*, no longer daring to contend with a *Conſular* army in the open field, had recourſe to artifice, and endeavour'd to draw their enemies into new *Caudine Forks*. Between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania* was the foreſt of *Avernus*, ſo called from the lake *Avernus* in the middle of it, from whoſe ſulphurous waters exhaled ſuch a nauſeous ſteam, that the birds which attempted to fly over it were believed to be ſuffocated by the exhalations. The Poets make it one of the vents of Hell. Into this foreſt, where the *Samnites* had poſted great numbers of men, they allured the *Roman* Troops by the hopes of booty. But the *Romans*, upon the firſt diſcovery of the ambuſh, drew up in order with ſuch expedition, and behaved themſelves with ſo much reſolution and bravery, that they defeated the enemy, and left 20,900 of them dead upon the ſpot.

145th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 32. c. 31. Zonaras, B. 6.

Year of ROME cccxliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius** and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the tranquillity and concord at home, to which ſo much proſperity abroad was owing, was greatly diſturbed by the ambition and obſtinacy of the *Cenſor Appius*. In the year 319, a law had been paſſed, enacting, that no *Cenſor* ſhould continue in his office longer than eighteen months: But *Appius* refuſed to comply with this regulation, and to reſign the Cenſorſhip (though his Collegue did) at the expiration of his term, depending on the favour of the People, who were pleaſed with his Aqueduct and new Road. Nevertheleſs *Sempronius Sophus*, one of the *Tribunes*, made no ſcruple to impeach him for this infraction

144th Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time. Livy, B. 9. c. 33.

Pomponius de Origine Juris.

fraction of the ÆMILIAN *Law*. *Appius*, upon a ſummons, appearing before the *Aſſembly of the People*, the *Tribune* aſked him, *how he would have behaved himſelf, had he been one of the* Cenſors *when that Law was paſſed?* To this *Appius* anſwered, that his caſe was not the ſame with theirs, and that the Law in queſtion bound only the *Cenſors* of that year. *Sempronius*, finding that nobody applauded this anſwer, immediately ordered him to priſon. But then *Appius* appealed to the whole body of the *Tribunes*, of whom three took him under their protection, while the other ſeven were againſt him; and as no perſon could be condemned at their Tribunal, unleſs they were all unanimous, he by this means eſcaped, and alone held the *Cenſorſhip* more than three years longer, contrary to the inclination of the Publick.

Year of ROME cccexliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

144th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 34. Author de Viris Illuſtribus, c. 34.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The* Conſul Fabius *defeats the* Hetrurians. *He penetrates into the* Ciminian *Foreſt, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a ſecond overthrow.* §. II. *The* Roman *arms have not equal ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites. *The* Senate *orders* Fabius *to name* Papirius Curſor *(the man he moſt hates) to be* Dictator *to carry on that war.* §. III. *He continues (with the title of* Proconſul) *ſucceſsfully to conduct the war againſt the* Hetrurians. §. IV. *The* Dictator Papirius *is no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the* Samnites. *He returns to* Rome, *and retires for the reſt of his life from publick buſineſs.* §. V. *The* Sam-

Samnites, *aſſiſted by the* Marſi *and* Peligni, *are defeated. The* Hetrurians *ſue for an Alliance with* Rome. *The* Romans *ſubdue all* Umbria. §. VI. *They ſend an army againſt the* Salentines. *The* HERNICI *rebel and are ſubdued; and the* SAMNITES *are frequently defeated.* §. VII. *The* Samnites *requeſt and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with* Rome. *The* ÆQUI, *who had lately rebelled, are totally ſubdued.*

Year of ROME ccccxliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

§. I. THIS inteſtine diſturbance did not ſtop the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. *Fabius* marched againſt the *Hetrurians*, and defeated them near *Sutrium*. The run-aways took refuge in the *Ciminian* Foreſt, a foreſt, ſays *Livy*, more impaſſable and dreadful than thoſe of *Germany*, and through which not even a ſingle merchant had ever yet made his way. *Fabius* was almoſt the only man in the army who had the boldneſs to think of entering into it: they were afraid of finding *Caudine Forks* in *Hetruria*. The General had with him at this time a near relation, named *Cæſo Fabius*, who had been educated at *Cære* in *Hetruria*, and ſpoke the language of the country perfectly well. *Cæſo* undertook to examine the foreſt and the places about it. He was accompanied in this enterpriſe by only one ſervant, who having been brought up with him, was alſo well acquainted with the *Tuſcan* language. Before they ſet out, they took care to inform themſelves of the names of the ſeveral Governors, and of the nature and ſituation of the places through which they were to paſs, that in

344th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 35. and 36.

in converſation they might not be diſcover'd through their ignorance of any thing that was notorious to all the natives. They were clad in the habit of ſhepherds, bearing each a cleaving bill and two javelins after the manner of the peaſants. But neither their dreſs, their arms, nor their familiar uſe of the language, was ſo good a ſecurity to them againſt a diſcovery, as the general notion that no ſtranger would dare to enter that foreſt. In this diſguiſe they are ſaid to have travell'd as far as to *Camerinum* [a] in *Umbria*, where they diſcover'd themſelves to be *Romans*, treated with the Senate of the City in the name of the *Conſul*, and obtained a promiſe from them to furniſh the *Roman* army with a reinforcement of men, and with thirty days proviſion, in caſe it ſhould come into thoſe parts.

Year of ROME cccxliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

144th Conſulſhip.

Upon the report made by *Cæſo* at his return, *Fabius*, when it grew dark, firſt ſent away his baggage, and ſoon after his infantry, to enter the foreſt. He himſelf ſtay'd in the camp with his cavalry, and early the next morning began to ſkirmiſh with the advanced guard of the *Hetrurians* that were poſted without the wood. When by this means he had long enough amuſed the enemy, he retired into his camp, from whence he went out at another gate, and overtook his main army before night. The next morning by daybreak he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus*, which was on the further ſide of the foreſt, and gave

[a] From *Sutrium*, whence *Cæſo* had ſet out to *Camerinum* in *Umbria*, it was a two days journey.

name

Year of ROME cccclxii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

name to it: From hence he ſurvey'd a while the fertile plains of *Hetruria*, and then ſent out a detachment of ſoldiers, who not only brought off a great booty, but defeated a tumultuous army that had got together to reſcue it out of their hands. After this the *Romans* returned to their camp near *Sutrium*, where they found two Tribunes of the People, with five Deputies from the Senate, diſpatched expreſly to forbid *Fabius* to enter the *Ciminian* Foreſt. Theſe meſſengers were extremely pleaſed, that they had come too late to hinder an expedition which had ſucceeded ſo well. They returned to *Rome* with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

344th Conſulſhip.

The detachment which *Fabius* had ſent out to plunder, had alarm'd all the country near the foot of the hill *Ciminus*, and even the people of *Umbria* on the confines of *Hetruria*, ſo that prodigious numbers of each nation took the field, and came to the camp before *Sutrium*. And now the *Hetrurians* not only brought their camp forward, but came out and drew up their forces in order of battle in the plain, leaving a ſpace for the enemy to do the like. Finding that the *Romans* declined the fight, they advanced almoſt to their very trenches; and the ſoldiers cried out with one voice to their officers, that the remainder of their allowance of proviſion for that day might be brought to them, for they would ſtay there under arms, and attack the *Roman* camp, either in the night or early the next morning. *Fabius*, to deceive the enemy, ſtill pretended fear, and kept cloſe within his intrenchments; but he bid his men

Livy, B. 9. c. 37.

men refreſh themſelves, and be ready for action upon the firſt ſignal. To raiſe their courage, he made a ſhort harangue to them, extolling to a high degree the exploits of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, and aſſuring them, that the *Hetrurians* were not ſoldiers comparable to the *Samnites* for ſtrength or courage; to this he added ſome dark words, by which he made them believe he had a ſecret correſpondence in the enemy's camp, and was ſure of the victory. About the fourth watch of the night he drew up his army in order of battle, within the intrenchment of the camp, cauſed the rampart to be levell'd, and the ditch to be fill'd, and then marched out, and ſurpriſed the enemy while half aſleep, and lying ſcattered over the plain. Of the *Hetrurians* were ſixty thouſand men ſlain or taken priſoners. Thoſe who could eſcape, fled into the wood. Their camp was ſeized and plundered. Some ſay, that this action happened in the country beyond the hill *Ciminus* near *Peruſia*. Be that as it will, three of the moſt conſiderable *Lucumonies*, after this overthrow, ſent Deputies to *Rome* to ſue for Peace; they obtained a Truce for thirty years.

Year of ROME ccccxliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

144th Conſulſhip.

§. II. BUT the *Roman* arms under the conduct of the Conſul *Marcius* had not the like ſucceſs againſt the *Samnites*, tho' he gained at firſt ſome advantages over them. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *P. Cornelius*, met with misfortunes. This was the firſt fleet the *Romans* had ever put to ſea. The Admiral made a deſcent at *Pompeii*, in *Campania*, and his troops meeting with no oppoſition at firſt, were, by the eager deſire of booty,

Livy, B. 9. c. 38.

Year of ROME cccexliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

booty, carried farther into the country than was conſiſtent with prudence, ſo that the inhabitants had time to get together, and they had the good fortune to intercept them in their return. They forced the *Romans* to relinquiſh their ſpoil; ſlew ſome of them, and chaced thoſe who eſcaped the ſword to their ſhips.

144th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 38.

This news, with a falſe report that *Fabius* had met with *Caudine Forks* in the *Ciminian* foreſt, revived the courage of the *Samnites*, and they gave *Marcius* battle. Much blood was ſpilt in the action on both ſides, and it was not known which had the advantage. Nevertheleſs, as fame gave it againſt the *Romans*, (becauſe ſome of the knights, and of the *Tribunes of the Soldiers*, and one of the *Conſul*'s lieutenants had been killed, and the *Conſul* himſelf wounded) the Senate judged it neceſſary to create a *Dictator*; and nobody doubted but *Papirius* would be the man. How to get him nominated was the queſtion: For whether *Marcius* were alive or not, no one at *Rome* could tell; and the *Samnites* had guards upon all the roads that led to his *Camp:* And, as for *Fabius*, the other *Conſul*, he had a private and perſonal quarrel with *Papirius*. In this difficulty, the *Fathers* determined to ſend to *Fabius* ſome eminent members of their body, men of conſular dignity, who to the publick authority ſhould add the weight of their own, to engage him to ſuppreſs his reſentments for the ſake of his country. When the deputies, being arrived at his camp, had notified to him the Senate's decree, and had thereto added ſome diſcourſe in the ſtyle of exhortation and intreaty

to comply, he ſtood ſilent for a while, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and then withdrew without making any anſwer. At midnight (according to cuſtom) he declared *Papirius* Dictator. Nevertheleſs, he plainly ſhewed the violence he had done to himſelf: For when the deputies returned him thanks for maſtering his reſentment, he diſmiſſed them without any reply, they could not draw one word from him.

Year of ROME cccexliii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

144th Conſulſhip.

We have a remarkable inſtance at this time of the exceſſive ſuperſtition of the *Romans*. *Papirius*, after his nomination to the *Dictatorſhip*, and after he had appointed *C. Junius Bubulcus* to be his *Maſter of the Horſe*, had recourſe [a] (as ſeems to have been the cuſtom in theſe days at leaſt) to an aſſembly of the People by *Curiæ* to obtain his commiſſion. It having fallen by lot to the *Curia* called *Faucia* to vote firſt, the aſſembly would not proceed in the matter, becauſe to the ſame *Curia* had fallen the like *prerogative* in thoſe unfortunate years, when Rome was taken by the *Gauls*, and the *Roman* Legions were ſurpriſed in the *Caudine Forks*. The buſineſs was put off to the next day, and then *Papirius* obtained his commiſſion without any ominous circumſtance.

He march'd away with an army which had been ſuddenly raiſed upon the alarm, formerly mention'd, of *Fabius*'s danger in paſſing the *Cimi-*

Liv. B. 9. c. 39.

[a] Ei [Papirio] legem curiatam de imperio ferenti, triſte omen diem diffidit, quod Faucia curia fuit principium, duabus inſignis cladibus, captæ urbis & Caudinæ pacis: quod utroque anno ejuſdem curiæ fuerat principium. *Livy*, B. 9. c. 38.

nian

Year of ROME cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred nine.

nian foreſt, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volſci*, where *Marcius* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the *Samnites* battle, but they declined it; and for ſome days after both parties continued quiet in their camps.

344th Conſulſhip. Year of ROME cccclxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eight.

§. III. IN the mean time *Fabius*, who in quality of *Proconſul* had been continued at the head of the forces in *Hetruria*, not only put to flight without difficulty an army of *Umbrians*, but obtained a notable victory over the *Hetrurians*, who had aſſembled on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius* (near *Viterbo)* a more numerous and more courageous army than they had ever had before. All the ſoldiers of it were men who had choſen[b] one another to the ſervice, and (as ſome think) made a vow to conquer or die. This is ſuppoſed to be the meaning of their *Lex ſacra*, by which they were bound: whoever violated this oath might by any man be ſlain with impunity. Be that as it will, the extraordinary engagement, by which they had bound themſelves, had ſuch an effect upon them, that during the action the *Romans* could not believe that they were contending with the ſame people, they had ſo often vanquiſhed. The firſt line of the *Roman* army was cut to pieces, and the ſecond repulſed; ſo that the *Proconſul* was obliged to bring his *Triarii* to the charge; nor was even this ſufficient; it became neceſſary for the Cavalry to diſmount, and go to the aſſiſtance of the Foot. But when the *Roman*

Faſt. Capit.

[b] Lege ſacrata coacto exercitu, quum virvirum legiſſet. *Livy*, B. 9. c. 39.

Knights

Knights, who were quite freſh and in full ſtrength, paſſing over heaps of ſlain, had placed themſelves in the front of the battle, they made ſo furious an attack on the enemy, and were ſo well ſeconded by the Legionary Soldiers (though much fatigued) that the *Hetrurians* were ſoon broken, and their whole army put to flight. They loſt the flower of their troops in this action.

Year of ROME cccclxiv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eight.

144th Conſulſhip.

§. IV. NOR was *Papirius* leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*, who, to give their ſoldiers more pride and ſpirit, had furniſhed them with finer arms and finer habits than uſual. They divided their troops into two bodies, one of which they cloathed in ſtuff of various colours, and provided with gilt bucklers; the other had ſilver'd bucklers, and were cloathed in white habits; and they had all creſts to their helmets, to make them look taller. That this novelty might have no ill effect upon the *Roman* ſoldiers, their officers put them in mind, that the true dreſs of a ſoldier was a ſword and courage; that gold and ſilver were of no uſe in battles, and made but an ugly figure when diſtained with blood, but would be a very good booty to inrich the conquerors.

Livy, B. 9. c. 40.

Papirius commanded the right wing of the *Romans*, which faced the many-colour'd troops of the enemy; and his General of the Horſe, *Junius Brutus*, commanded the left, which faced their white battalions: *Brutus* cried out, as he advanced towards the enemy, *I devote theſe white men to* Pluto: His attack preſently threw the *Samnites* into diſorder, and they began to give ground;

Year of ROME CCCCXLIV. Bef. J. C. Three hundred eight.

which *Papirius* obſerving, called out to the *Romans* of the right wing, *What! you have the* DICTATOR *at your head, and ſhall victory begin in the left?* While *Papirius* thus animated the Infantry of the right to make a vigorous charge, his two Lieutenants (both eminent men, who had been Conſuls) *M. Valerius* (on the right) and *P. Decius* (on the left) quitted the Foot, and putting themſelves at the head of the Cavalry, each on his own ſide, made a ſudden and furious attack on the enemy's flanks. The *Samnites* finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded, a terror ſeized them, they inſtantly broke their ranks and fled to their camp; but their loſs in the battle had been ſo great, that they durſt not think of defending it. Before night it was taken and burnt.

144th Conſulſhip.

Faſt. Capit.

The *Dictator*, after the victory, returned to *Rome*, and had a Triumph, of which the fine arms taken from the *Samnites* were the chief ornaments. They were afterwards delivered to the Goldſmiths company, to beautify the *Roman Forum* with them: And hence aroſe the cuſtom of the *Ædiles* adorning the *Forum*, on thoſe days when the images of the Gods were carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets of *Rome* in chariots.

The Triumph of the *Proconſul Fabius* followed that of the *Dictator*, and, tho' leſs ſplendid, was accompanied with more applauſe, becauſe he had had no ſharer in his glory; whereas the other had been much indebted for his ſucceſs, not only to his General of the Horſe, but to his two Lieutenants, *Valerius* and *Decius*.

§. V.

§. V. *PAPIRIUS* was now grown old. He appeared no more in any publick ſtation, but for the future left all the glory of heroical exploits to his rival *Q. Fabius*, who was now (the 3d time) with *P. Decius Mus* (the 2d time) raiſed to the Conſulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, [the laſt town in *Campania*, on the other ſide of mount *Veſuvius*,] from the *Samnites*, and defeated them afterwards in a battle, but a battle ſo inconſiderable, that it would not deſerve notice in Hiſtory, had it not preſented the Republick with new enemies who had not before appeared. The *Marſi* and *Peligni*, two petty nations in the neighbourhood of *Samnium*, northward, had joined the *Samnites*, tho' with little benefit to their allies.

Year of ROME cccclxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeven.

145th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 41.

As for *Decius*, he made ſuch a happy progreſs in his province, that all *Hetruria* deſired an alliance with *Rome*: But the Republick having (doubtleſs) formed the deſign of conquering this country, granted the *Hetrurians* only a Truce for one year. Soon after the *Umbrians* aſſembled all their forces, and, being joined by great numbers of *Hetrurians*, they confidently boaſted, that, leaving *Decius* behind them in *Hetruria*, they would march directly to *Rome*. This put both the *Conſuls* in motion. *Decius* made long marches from *Hetruria*, and incamped his army in the *Pupinian* field, near the river *Anio*, about eight miles diſtant from *Rome*. But the enterpriſing *Fabius* no ſooner received orders from the Senate (alarmed by the preparations of the

Year of ROME cccclxv. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſeven.

145th Conſulſhip.

Umbrians) than he quitted *Samnium*, croſſed *Sabinia*, entered *Umbria*, and incamped in the very heart of the country near *Mevania*, on the banks of the *Clitumnus*. The *Umbrians* were terrified at his unexpected appearance among them; and tho' they ventured to give battle, they behaved themſelves like women in the action: the *Romans* hardly made uſe of their ſwords; they beat down the enemy with their bucklers alone, ſo that little blood was ſpilt; but the whole army were made priſoners, and the whole nation ſoon after ſubmitted. After this *Fabius* returned to his camp in *Samnium*.

Year of ROME cccclxvi. Bef. J. C. Three hundred ſix.

§. VI. THE time being now come for a new election of *Conſuls*, *Appius Claudius*, who had held the *Cenſorſhip* five years contrary to law, ſtood candidate for the *Conſulate*, and obtained it. *L. Volumnius Flamma* was appointed his Collegue.

146th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 42.

Appius not being qualified for the command of armies, the Senate obliged him to ſtay in *Rome*; and notwithſtanding his oppoſition to it, continued *Fabius* in quality of *Proconſul*, and without any aſſociate, in the command of the troops in *Samnium*, where he obtained a conſiderable victory over the enemy near *Alifæ*, on the banks of the *Vulturnus*. In the mean time *Volumnius* made war againſt the *Salentines*, in the extreme part of *Italy*, with good ſucceſs, and for the firſt time ſpread the terror of the *Roman* name in thoſe parts.

Faſt. Capit.

In the election of Magiſtrates for the following year, the *Romans* choſe *Appius* to be *Prætor*, a poſt much better ſuited to his talents; and at the ſame

ſame time raiſed *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* to the *Conſulate.* The former was order'd to march againſt a body of *Hernici*, who had taken arms on account of the ſevere treatment which ſome of their countrymen (made priſoners in the laſt battle of the *Romans* with the *Samnites)* had ſuffered at *Rome.* The rebels loſt three camps in a few days, and were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This war being ended, *Marcius* haſten'd to join his Collegue, who had ſuffer'd himſelf to be inveſted in narrow paſſes by the *Samnites.* The enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two armies, gave *Marcius* battle, while his troops were fatigued and in ſome diſorder. The place where they attack'd him being not far from the camp of *Cornelius*, the latter could hear the ſhouts of the combatants, and ſee the clouds of duſt that they raiſed; judging therefore that his Collegue was engaged in fight with the enemy, he ſallied out of his intrenchments, fell upon the *Samnites* in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, which he found empty, and ſet fire to it. The ſight of the fire totally diſcouraged them, ſo that they immediately diſperſed themſelves and fled, leaving thirty thouſand men dead on the ſpot. But this action was no ſooner over, than the *Romans* found themſelves obliged to enter upon a new engagement with a body of freſh troops coming to reinforce the *Samnite* army. The ſucceſs of this battle being the ſame with that of the preceding one, the *Samnites* were reduced to ſue for

Year of ROME cccexlvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred five.

147th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 43.

Year of ROME cccexlvii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred five.

peace. The *Conſuls* referr'd their Deputies to the Senate and People of *Rome.*

Whilſt *Marcius* and *Cornelius* were yet in the field, the time came for electing new Magiſtrates; ſo that a *Dictator* was named to preſide in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, who choſe *Poſthumius Megellus* and *Tib. Minucius Conſuls.* Before they took poſſeſſion of their office, the Senate determined the fate of the *Hernici.* Thoſe of their cities that had continued faithful, were allowed to chuſe whether to live according to their ancient laws, or to have the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, and they preferred the former. The reſt were declared *Roman* Citizens, and obliged to be govern'd by *Roman* Laws, whether they liked it or not, yet without having the right of ſuffrage.

147th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 44.

c. 43. At this time Deputies arrived from *Carthage*, with a compliment and preſents to the Republick; and ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that a third treaty was now made with the *Carthaginians.*

Year of ROME ccccxlviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred four.

The new *Conſuls* were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of two *Legions.* *Poſthumius* directed his march towards the city of *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* incamped in the neighbourhood of *Bovianum.* The firſt came to a battle with the *Samnites*, the ſucceſs of which was equal on both ſides; but he pretended to be worſted, retired the next night to the mountains, and there fortified himſelf in an advantageous place. The *Samnites* followed and incamped within two miles of him. *Poſthumius* hereupon finiſh'd his intrenchments with all expedition, and leaving a ſufficient number of troops to guard them, marched

148th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 44.

ched out at midnight with the reſt, and join'd his Collegue, who lay in ſight of another body of *Samnites* that waited for an opportunity to engage. *Minucius*, by the advice of *Poſthumius*, advanced into the plain with only his two *Legions*, and offered the enemy battle. The victory was long diſputed; but at length *Poſthumius* appearing with his freſh troops, and falling ſuddenly upon the *Samnites*, whoſe ſtrength was exhauſted, the latter ſuffered a terrible ſlaughter. They loſt one and twenty Enſigns. This action over, the two *Conſuls* led their joint forces to *Poſthumius*'s camp, and thence fell upon that body of *Samnites* which was poſted near it. This proved a bloodier battle than the former; *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* General, taken priſoner. Victory declared for the *Romans*, who took twenty-ſix Enſigns from the enemy.

Year of ROME cccclxviii. Bef. J. C. Three hundred four.

148th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 9. c. 44.

The People at *Rome*, on the news of *Minucius*'s death, immediately appointed *Fulvius Curvus* to ſucceed him, and to finiſh the campaign, which he did by reducing *Bovianum* and ſeveral other cities to ſurrender, for which he had a Triumph at his return home.

§. VII. IN the beginning of the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *C. Sempronius Sophus* and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnite* nation ſent Deputies to *Rome* to deſire a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the Republick: But the *Romans*, before they would grant this requeſt, diſpatched *Sulpicius* with an army into *Samnium*, to examine the ſincerity of the *Samnites*, and diſcover their real ſentiments. They received the *Conſul* every-

Year of ROME cccclxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred three.

every-where with great marks of reſpect and friendſhip; and upon his report of the ſeeming alteration in their diſpoſitions, a new alliance was made with them on the old foot.

And now the Republick prepar'd to puniſh her old enemies the *Æqui*, who, notwithſtanding the Treaty between them and *Rome*, had many times privately ſent ſuccours to the *Samnites*, and had of late openly eſpouſed their cauſe, following the example of the *Hernici*. They had likewiſe returned this haughty anſwer to the *Roman Feciales*, who had been ſent to them to demand ſatisfaction: *That they ſuppoſed it was only a trial, whether through the fear of a war they would ſuffer themſelves to be made* Roman Citizens; *which, how deſirable a thing it was, the* Hernici *had taught them; ſeeing thoſe of that nation, who had been left free to chuſe, had preferred* their own Laws *to* Roman Citizenſhip; *and thoſe who had been compelled to be* Roman Citizens *looked upon it as a puniſhment.* War was therefore declared againſt the *Æqui*, and both the *Conſuls* were ordered to enter their country. The long ſubjection and inaction of this people had enervated their courage, and untaught them Military Diſcipline. They aſſembled an army, but there was no order, no ſubordination among the ſoldiers, nor could they come to any agreement what meaſures to take. At length they all unanimouſly left their camp at midnight, and every one made the beſt of his way home. The *Conſuls*, who the next morning drew up their troops with an intention to offer battle were much ſurpriſed at the inaction of the enemy, and the ſilence

349th Conſulſhip. Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 9. c. 45.

ſilence that reigned in their camp. No advanced guards appeared, no centinels upon the ramparts. At firſt they ſuſpected an ambuſh, and proceeded with caution; but when they diſcovered the truth, reſolved to lay ſiege to the Cities whither they had retreated. In fifty days the *Conſuls* took forty-one Towns, moſt of which they razed or burnt, which intirely reduced the *Æqui*; and this rapid deſtruction ſpread ſuch a terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, all ſent to ſollicit an alliance with the Republick. Their requeſt was granted.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The renowned* Q. FABIUS *being* CENSOR *this year, acquires the ſurname of* MAXIMUS, *for his reformation of an abuſe introduced by* APPIUS. §. II. *Colonies are ſent to the Conquered Cities. The art of Painting is introduced at* Rome *by* C. FABIUS, *ſurnamed* PICTOR. Cleonymus, *ſon of* Cleomenes, *King of* Sparta, *brings a fleet upon the coaſt of* Italy, *and makes two deſcents there.* §. III. *An inſurrection of the* Marſi *is quell'd. After a victory over the* Hetrurians, *a Truce is granted them, for two years.*

§. I. THIS ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms abroad was follow'd by reformations at home. The famous *Q. Fabius Rullianus* being this year (with *P. Decius Mus*) in the *Cenſorſhip*, employed his power to rectify an abuſe introduced

Y. of R. 449. Bef. J. C. 303.

149th Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME cccclxix. Bef. J. C. Three hundred three.

duced by *Appius Claudius* into the State. * *Appius*, as we have already * ſeen, to make himſelf Maſter in the Senate, had brought the ſons of Freed-men into it; but this novelty had not laſted above one year; his liſt of Senators was cancell'd, and the old one took place. Not ſucceeding therefore in that enterprize, he, in order to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, diſperſed the Freed-men and the very lees of the People, men wholly devoted to him, into all the *Roman Tribes*, and this occaſioned endleſs broils in the Republick. It was owing to the ſame cauſe, that the *Curule Ædileſhip* fell this year into the hands of two very mean perſons, the one a native of *Præneſte*, the other *Cn. Flavius*, the grandſon of a *Freed man*, and whoſe firſt profeſſion had been that of a ſcribe [a]. Having by ſome means learnt the rules by which the *Pontifices* ſettled the *Term-days*, or the days for hearing Cauſes, and ſuch other matters as were within their peculiar province, he compoſed a Calendar, tranſcribed it, and fixed it up in the *Forum* for the uſe of the People [b]; who being thereby freed from their dependance on the *Pontifices* in this reſpect, rewarded him with ſeveral honourable employ-

149th Conſulſhip.

* In the year 441.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 2.

Aul. Gell. B. 6. c. 9. Livy, B. 9. c. 46. Pomponius de Origine Juris. Cicero pro Muræna, 11.

[a] *Pliny* (B. 33. c. 1. §. vi.) ſays, that *Flavius* had been ſcribe to *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, and, at his inſtigation, both made himſelf maſter of the ſecret (by artful inquiries) and publiſhed it.

[b] *Flavius* publiſhed likewiſe what *Livy* calls, *Civile jus repoſitum in penetralibus pontificum.* See TAYLOR's *Elements of Civil Law*, p. 77 — 81, where this matter is ſatisfactorily explained.

ments,

ments, to which they raiſed him ſucceſſively, and at length with the *Curule Ædileſhip*. The Nobles were ſo deeply affected with the indignity offered them by this promotion of *Flavius*, that many of them laid aſide their ornaments, and particularly their Gold-Rings, as in a time of mourning.

Year of ROME CCCCL. Bef. J. C. Three hundred two.

Fabius, to re-eſtabliſh peace in *Rome*, and to hinder the great dignities from being beſtowed on worthleſs men, reincorporated into the four *City-Tribes* thoſe mean fellows whom *Appius* had taken thence, and diſperſed among the *Country-Tribes*; ſo that for the future they could influence no more than four *Tribes*, and in theſe they were not the ſtrongeſt: a reformation ſo agreeable to the Republick, that on this account alone the *Romans* gave *Fabius* the ſurname of *Maximus*, which he had not acquired by all his military exploits. It was perpetuated in his branch of the *Fabian* family.

150th Conſulſhip. Vel. Pat. B. 1. Liv. B. 10. c. 1.

In this *Cenſorſhip* likewiſe an ordinance was made, that the *Roman Knights* ſhould every year on the *Ides* of *July* appear on horſeback dreſſed in purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in proceſſion from the Temple of *Mars* to the *Capitol*, [in honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* who fought for the *Romans* at the lake *Regillus*.]

§. II. THE Republick being now in peace with her neighbours, the year of the Conſuls *S. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genucius Aventinenſis* was almoſt wholly ſpent in ſending *Colonies* to the conquer'd Cities. To *Sora* 4000, to *Alba* (in the country of the *Æqui*) 6000 men were ſent. The ſame year to the *Arpinates* and *Trebulani* were granted

Year of ROME CCCCLI. Bef. J. C. Three hundred one.

granted the privileges of *Roman* Citizens; but from the *Fruſinates* was taken a third part of their land, becauſe they had ſollicited the *Hernici* to make war on the *Romans*. The publick tranquillity ſuffer'd a ſhort interruption by a gang of Robbers in *Umbria*, who ravaged the country far and near. Their retreat was a great cave with two entrances; and the *Romans* having found them both, lighted great fires at them, ſo that ſome of the wretches (whoſe whole number amounted to two thouſand) were ſtifled with the ſmoke, and the reſt threw themſelves into the flames.

151ſt Conſulſhip.

This expedition was followed by an inconſiderable war. In the beginning of the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Livius Denter* and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, the *Æqui* took umbrage at the *Colony* of ſix thouſand men which the Republick had lately ſent to *Alba*, and they laid ſiege to that place. But *Junius Brutus*, whom the People named *Dictator* upon this occaſion, marched againſt them, and by a ſpeedy victory put an end to the war in eight days time. At his return home he dedicated to *The Goddeſs of Health* a Temple, which he had vowed when he was *Conſul*, and of which he had laid the foundation when he was *Cenſor*. And this is the firſt time that Hiſtory mentions the uſe of the art of Painting in *Rome*. *C. Fabius* (afterwards *Conſul*) painted all the walls of the new Temple in *Freſco*, and thence got the ſurname of *Pictor*.

Pliny, B. 35. c. 4. Val. Max. B. 8. c. 15. Liv. B. 10. c. 2.

At this time *Cleonymus*, the ſon of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, came with a great fleet on the coaſt of *Italy*, with deſign to make a ſettlement there,

there, and he took *Thuriæ* [anciently called *Sybaris*] a City of *Lucania*. Being driven thence by the *Romans* he made a ſecond deſcent, in the place where *Venice* now ſtands. But this expedition proving as unfortunate as the former, he returned to his own country, having loſt four-fifths of his fleet.

Year of ROME CCCCLII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred.

Faſt. Capit.

§. III. THE following year the Republick had no *Conſuls*, but was govern'd by two *Dictators*, one after another, each of whom fulfilled his ſix months. The firſt was *Fabius Maximus*. The revolt of the *Marſi* induced the *Romans* to put this eminent warrior at the head of their troops. He marched an army againſt them, and by one ſingle victory quieted that inſurrection. *Valerius Corvus*, who ſucceeded *Fabius*, was named to the *Dictatorſhip*, to conduct a war againſt the *Hetrurians*, in which the Republick was engaged by taking part in the civil broils of that people. But the *Roman Legions*, having entered *Hetruria*, were no ſooner advanced within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy, than a religious ſcruple ſeized the *Dictator*. He called to mind that there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of his inauguration, upon which he ſtrait returned to *Rome*, to renew the *Auſpicia*. In his abſence *Sempronius Sophus*, his General of the Horſe, imprudently made an incurſion into the country, fell into an ambuſh, and loſt a great number of men, and ſome colours. The news of this defeat, which was much magnified, cauſed an extraordinary terror at *Rome*, and the *Dictator* haſtened away with new levies to the camp. At his arrival he found things in a much

Liv. B. 10. c. 3.

Year of ROME CCCCLII. Bef. J. C. Three hundred. 151ſt Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 10. c. 4.

a much better condition than had been reported. *Sempronius* had changed his poſt for a more ſafe and advantageous one; the *Manipuli*, who had loſt their Colours, were impatiently waiting in great ſhame and diſgrace without the camp (where they continued day and night without covering) for an opportunity to recover their honour, and the whole army deſired nothing ſo much as a battle, that they might have their revenge. *Valerius*, ſeeing this good diſpoſition of his troops, led them into the fields of *Ruſſellæ*, one of the twelve chief cities of *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians*, fluſh'd with their ſucceſs, follow'd him, and endeavour'd by a ſtratagem to ſurpriſe *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictator*'s Lieutenant-Generals, who, with a detachment, had poſſeſſed himſelf of a fort at ſome diſtance from the *Roman* camp. Some *Hetrurian* officers, in the dreſs of ſhepherds, came with their flocks near the walls of the fort. This was a bait to draw the *Romans* out; a body of troops lay ready in ambuſh to fall upon them. *Fulvius* diſcovering their artifice by their ſpeech, which was more elegant than that of ſhepherds, bid ſome of his men call out to the pretended ſhepherds, and tell them, *That they would find it as hard to deceive the* Romans *as to conquer them.* When the *Hetrurians* perceived that their ſtratagem would not take effect, they preſently after

c. 5. appeared, and beſieged *Fulvius* in form. The *Dictator* had notice of his diſtreſs, and haſten'd to his relief, and this brought on a general action. *Valerius*, to ſurpriſe the enemy, inſtead of poſting his Cavalry in the wings of his army, as

was

was uſual, drew them up behind his Infantry, leaving ſpaces in the lines for the horſe to advance upon a ſignal. And in reality, when the *Romans* had given the firſt ſhout for the combat, it was not their Infantry but their Cavalry that began the charge. Paſſing through the intervals before mentioned, they drove full ſpeed upon the enemy; and this unexpected attack ſo terrified and diſconcerted the *Hetrurians*, unprepared for it, that the battle was neither long nor doubtful. They quickly gave ground, diſperſed themſelves, and fled; and the victory of the *Romans* was compleat. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this freſh blow, once again ſued for peace, but could obtain no more than a truce for two years.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of* Rome 453, *a Law is paſſed, to qualify* PLEBEIANS *for the* Pontificate *and* Augurate. §. II. *The* Lex Valeria *is confirmed anew.* §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus *declines the* Conſulſhip, *and at his own requeſt obtains the* Curule Ædileſhip.

§. I. AT the next election of Magiſtrates, *Valerius Corvus*, though abſent, was again * promoted to the Conſulſhip; and the *Comitia* appointed Q. *Apuleius Panſa* to be his Colleague. During their adminiſtration, the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* continued quiet, and the Republick enjoyed an interval of tranquillity abroad.

Y. of R. 433. Bef. J. C. 299.

152d Conſulſhip.

* A fifth time. Faſt. Capit.

ut

Year of ROME CCCCLIII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-nine.

252d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 6.

But as it had ever been the fate of *Rome* to have commotions at home, when ſhe had no foreign enemies, ſo now two *Tribunes of the Commons*, brothers, of the name of *Ogulnius*, ſet on foot a new conteſt with the *Patricians*, concerning honours and dignities. The only important offices which the *Plebeians* did not ſhare with the Nobility at this time, were the *Pontificate* and the *Augurate*. *Numa* had appointed only four *Pontifices*, and that number had never been increaſed. The *Augurs*, tho' but three in number at their firſt inſtitution by *Romulus*, had been augmented to ſix. However, the *Augural* College conſiſted now but of four, probably by the death of two. The *Ogulnii* preſented a petition to have four additional *Pontifices* choſen out of the *Plebeians*, and to have five *Plebeian* Augurs added to the four in being. The *Patricians* were highly offended with this propoſal; but as they had experienced the fruitleſſneſs of their endeavours to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulate* and the other great dignities, they made no other oppoſition to this new incroachment on their prerogatives, than by declaiming in all places againſt the innovation, as an affront offered to the Gods themſelves: *May Heaven grant that ſo wicked a profanation of our ſacred myſteries draw no calamity on the Republick!* The matter was firſt debated before the aſſembly of the *Curiæ* where *Appius Claudius*, ſo famous for his attempts to humble the Nobility, became now their moſt zealous advocate. But as his harangue contained nothing more than a repetition of the old arguments that had been ſo often employed againſt

c. 7. and 8.

gainſt the admiſſion of *Plebeians* to the *Conſulate*, Hiſtory has not tranſmitted it to us. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, who had been twice *Conſul*, and once *Dictator*, ſpoke in behalf of the *Plebeians*. He put the aſſembly in mind of his father *Decius*, who devoted himſelf to death for the *Roman Legions*, and thereby made *them* victorious: *If* Decius *was as pure and as agreeable a victim to the Gods, as his* Patrician *Collegue* Manlius *would have been, had he offered himſelf; what ſhould hinder, but that the ſame* Decius *might have been choſen to officiate in our Religious Ceremonies and Sacrifices? And after all, whence is it that the* Patricians *derive this peculiar privilege of being alone worthy to miniſter in ſacred things? Did they deſcend from Heaven with the quality of* Patricians? *or did* Romulus *give that title to their anceſtors, only becauſe they could tell who were their Fathers and Grandfathers, that is, becauſe they were men of free condition? If this be all, I am able to name a* Conſul *for my Father; and my ſon may boaſt, that both his Father and Grandfather have been honoured with the higheſt dignities in the Republick. But to what purpoſe ſhould I reaſon any longer? The* Patricians *have nothing ſolid to offer, they only ſeek to amuſe us with words and noiſe, and they know very well that we ſhall carry our point. My opinion therefore is, that the People by their ſuffrages do immediately paſs the Petition of the* Ogulnii *into a Law.*

Year of ROME CCCCLIII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-nine.

152d Conſulſhip.

This Debate was in the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*; but in order to decide the affair, it had been before agreed to ſummon the *Tribes*; and there both

Livy, B. 10. c. 9.

Year of ROME cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-nine.

both points were carried in favour of the People, and *Decius* was choſen one of the new *Pontifices.*

§. II. *VALERIUS* took the opportunity of the preſent tranquillity to revive an old Law*, made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and afterwards renewed † by another of his anceſtors, enacting, *That in Capital cauſes the accuſed ſhould have a right of appealing to the* Tribunal *of the People.* The *Patricians*, by their intereſt and power, had hinder'd the effect of this law, and render'd it obſolete; but it was now once more reſtor'd, and expreſs'd in ſtronger terms than before; with no other ſanction however, but *That the tranſgreſſors of it ſhould be deemed guilty of a diſhoneſt action*; a penalty which ſhould have been of little influence in a more corrupt age, but ſufficient at this time to reſtrain the *Romans*, who piqued themſelves upon their virtue, and had no hope of riſing to great employments, unleſs they had preſerved their reputation pure and untainted.

152d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 9.

* In the year 244.

† In the year 304.

§. III. IN the following *Comitia* for electing new *Conſuls*, *Q. Fabius* finding that the People were inclined to raiſe him again to that dignity, though he had not entered his name among the *Candidates*; and conſidering that he ſhould gain but little glory in a time of tranquillity, deſired the aſſembly to reſerve that mark of their eſteem for him till a more tempeſtuous ſeaſon, and declared, that a civil employment at preſent would be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they placed him (with *Papirius Curſor*, the ſon of the Great *Papirius*) in the *Curule Ædileſhip*; nor did his ſuperior merit appear leſs conſpicuous in this ſtation

ſtation than in military command: For when, not long after, there happened to be a great ſcarcity of corn at *Rome*, he took ſuch effectual care to guard the People againſt famine, by bringing corn from abroad, and by making a proper and wiſe diſtribution of it, that the poorer ſort confeſs'd they owed their lives to him.

Year of ROME cccclviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-nine.

133d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 9.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *break the Truce with* Rome. Picenum *obtains an alliance with the Republick.* Valerius Corvus *being declared* Conſul (the 6th time) *the very name of this renowned warrior ſtrikes ſuch a terror into the* Hetrurians, *that they deſiſt from the war.* §. II. *A report being ſpread, that both the* Hetrurians *and the* Samnites *were making mighty preparations to attack the Republick, the* Romans *oblige the great* FABIUS *to accept the office of* Conſul *contrary to his inclination; and, at his requeſt, give him* P. Decius Mus *to be his Collegue. The* Hetrurians *aſk peace; ſo that the* Conſuls *march their two armies into* Samnium.

§. I. THE *Conſuls* choſen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Petinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus. Fulvius* went into *Umbria* to carry on the ſiege of *Nequinum* (which *Apuleius*, one of the former *Conſuls*, had begun) and, by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants, he made himſelf maſter of the place. The *Romans* ſent a Colony thither, to keep the reſt of the *Umbrians* in awe.

Year of ROME ccccliv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-eight.

153d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10 c. 18.

Year of ROME cccclIV. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-eight.

In this *Conſulate* the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome.* But when they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territory, an irruption of the *Gauls* into their country ſuſpended the deſign; however they did not drop it. On the contrary, that they might execute it with the better ſucceſs, they endeavoured by large ſums to engage the *Gauls*, not only to forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but to join with them againſt *Rome.* The *Gauls* ſeemed to liſten to the propoſal, took the money, and withdrew their troops. But when the time came for marching againſt the *Romans*, they excuſed themſelves, unleſs the *Hetrurians* would aſſign them a part of their territory to ſettle in; and this was abſolutely refuſed.

153d Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 15.

During theſe negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, *Picenum*, on the borders of the *Adriatick*, ſent Deputies to *Rome* to aſk an alliance with the Republick; a requeſt which the *Romans* eaſily granted in the preſent neceſſity of their affairs, and then they diſpatched away an army to puniſh the *Hetrurians* for their breach of faith. The command of it had fallen by lot to *Manlius*; but this General loſing his life by a fall from his horſe, the *Centuries* met to chuſe him a ſucceſſor, and (which had never happened ſince the birth of the Republick) all the ſuffrages were given in favour of one and the ſame man, *Valerius Corvus*, now the ſixth time created Conſul. His firſt Conſulſhip was in the year 405, according to the *Capitoline* Marbles [a]. Though now in a very ad-

[a] According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Val. Maximus*, and others, there were 46 years between *Val. Corvus*'s firſt Conſulate and his laſt; according to the *Faſt. Capit.* 48.

vanced

vanced age, he made the campaign with all the vigour of a man in the bloom of life. His very appearance at the head of the *Roman* army ſo terrified the *Hetrurians*, that they durſt not continue in the field, but ſhut themſelves up in their fortified places; nor could the burning of their villages, and the laying waſte their country, provoke them to hazard a battle. This was the laſt of *Valerius*'s Military expeditions. In what year he ended his days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above an hundred. He was promoted one and twenty times to offices, that gave him a right to ſit in the *Curule* Chair, (which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf,) and, when not in any publick ſtation, he made Agriculture his chief employment and amuſement. He was not only a worthy Patriot and good pattern of that Affection which men owe their country, but an excellent model of the Paternal Care which the head of a great family ought to have of his children and relations. Great in Peace and great in War, *Valerius Corvus* ſhone eminent even among thoſe Heroes who appeared in the moſt glorious, becauſe the moſt virtuous, age of *Rome*.

Year of ROME CCCCLIV. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-eight.

153d Conſulſhip. Cicero in Bruto, c. 14.

Year of ROME CCCCLV. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-ſeven.

154th Conſulſhip. Plin. B. 7. c. 43. Val. Max. B. 8. c. 13. Cicero, in Catone Majore. Plut. in Mario. Livy, B. 10. c. 12, 13.

§. II. TOWARDS the cloſe of the year [a] the Republick (by what accident is unknown) fell into an *Inter-regnum*. When the *Comitia* were held for a new election of Magiſtrates, *Appius Claudius* took it into his head to oppoſe the admitting of any *Plebeian* into the *Conſulſhip*: But all his rhetorick proved ineffectual, and *Cn. Ful-*

[a] Two new Tribes, *Anienſis* and *Terentina*, were this year added to the 31 in being.

Year of ROME CCCCLV. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninery-ſeven.

154th Conſulſhip.

vius Centumalus a *Plebeian*, was made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*. During their adminiſtration the *Hetrurians* took arms again, and the *Samnites* broke their alliance with *Rome*. *Scipio* march'd againſt the former, and gave them battle, the ſucceſs of which was doubtful. However, the *Hetrurians*, after the action, were ſeized with an unaccountable terror, deſerted their camp in the night, and returned to their reſpective *Lucumonies*; and the *Conſuls* pillaged and laid waſte the whole country. *This is* Livy's *account*. But the *Faſti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this expedition of the *Romans* into *Hetruria* was under the conduct of *Fulvius*, who afterwards marched againſt the *Samnites*, and gained an unqueſtionable victory over them near *Bovianum*.

Livy, B. 10. c. 13.

Before the expiration of the preſent *Conſulſhip*, a report prevailed of mighty preparations that the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were making to attack the Republick once more. Hereupon, the firſt care of the *Romans* was to chuſe able Generals for the next campaign; and all eyes immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But he (from what motive is hard to gueſs) declined the honour, and excuſed himſelf to the People on pretence of his age, and the decay of his ſtrength and vigour. And to ſhew that he was in earneſt, he ordered the law to be read, which forbad any man to bear the office of *Conſul* twice within ten years [b]; a law

[b] According to *Livy* and the *Faſt. Capitol.* there had been ten Conſulates ſince *Fabius* was in that ſtation; ſo that if his objection was good, we muſt conclude, that the *Conſular* years were not always compleat years, and are therefore a very uncertain meaſure of time. *C. & R.*

made in the year 411, but which had not been ſtrictly obſerved. Nevertheleſs, the People being bent upon having him for one of their *Conſuls*, made ſuch a clamour when the ſtatute was going to be read, as quite drowned the voice of the perſon appointed to read it; nay, the *Tribunes* themſelves threaten'd *Fabius*, that if he did not deſiſt from oppoſing his election, they would get the People to diſpenſe with the law by a formal decree. When *Fabius* found that there was a neceſſity of complying, he reſiſted no longer; but then he deſired that they would at leaſt oblige him ſo far as to give him a Collegue to his own mind, and propoſed to them *Decius Mus*, who had been joined with him in his laſt *Conſulſhip*, and with whom, he told them, he had lived in perfect concord and harmony. The *Comitia* granted his requeſt, and thoſe *Centuries* who had not yet voted, gave their voices unanimouſly for *Decius*. The reſt of the year was ſpent in reſtraining the avarice of thoſe, who, contrary to law, poſſeſs'd more than five hundred acres of land.

Year of ROME CCCCLVI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-ſix.

155th Conſulſhip.

While the new *Conſuls Fabius* * and *Decius* † were conſidering together in a friendly manner, which of them would be able to conduct the war in this or that province, with moſt advantage, and what number of forces it would be neceſſary to employ in each, Deputies arrived at *Rome* from *Sutrium*, *Nepete*, and *Falerii*, who all agreed in their report, that the *Hetrurians* in their laſt Diet had reſolv'd to deſire a peace. Upon this both the *Conſuls* marched into *Samnium*, but entered it different ways. *Fabius* took the ſhorteſt cut, by

* A fourth time.
† A third time.
Livy, B. 10. c. 14.

Year of ROME CCCCLVI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-ſix.

Sora; and being informed by his ſcouts, that the *Samnites* had laid an ambuſh for him on the banks of the *Tifernus*, and were waiting for his coming into a deep valley, that they might fall upon him from the hills, he reſolved to attack them in their concealment. But they finding their project diſcover'd, left their ambuſh, and drew up in order of battle in the plain. The brave reſiſtance they made in the beginning of the engagement gave *Fabius* ſome uneaſineſs. He commanded his Cavalry to give their horſes the reins, and to ruſh upon the enemy with their uſual impetuoſity; but this proved ineffectual. His next recourſe was to ſtratagem. He ordered *Scipio*, one of his Lieutenants, to take the *Haſtati* of the firſt Legion, march them by round-about ways in ſilence to the top of a neighbouring hill, and thence fall on the enemy in the rear; and this motion was made without being perceived, either by the reſt of the army, or by the *Samnites*. In the mean time the latter, proud of having repulſed the *Roman* Cavalry, puſhed the firſt line of the Infantry briſkly, and forced them to retire through the ſpaces in the ſecond line, which conſiſted of the *Principes*. But when theſe began likewiſe to loſe ground, *Scipio* appeared with his detachment in the rear of the enemy. *Fabius*, to encourage his men, made them believe, that it was the army of his Collegue *Decius* come to his aſſiſtance. And the ſame perſuaſion prevailing among the *Samnite* Troops, they immediately diſbanded and fled.

155th Conſulſhip.

Frontinii Stratag. B. 2.

The

The ſlaughter was not great, but the *Romans* took twenty-three colours. Year of ROME CCCCLVI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five,

Decius, whoſe name had been of ſervice in this action, had likewiſe in another reſpect contributed to the victory, by having defeated the *Apulians*, who were to have joined the *Samnites*. After this the two *Conſular* armies continued five months in *Samnium*, and made incredible devaſtations; *Decius* changing his camp forty-five times, and *Fabius* his, eighty-ſix for that purpoſe. 155th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 15.

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. Appius Claudius *makes a fruitleſs attempt to get the* Conſular Faſces *for* Fabius *and himſelf to the excluſion of all* Plebeian *Candidates.* Fabius *being Preſident in the* Comitia, *oppoſes his own re-election. Great advantages are gained over the* Samnites. §. II. Appius, *though much embarraſſed with a war againſt the* Hetrurians, *pretends to be diſpleaſed with the arrival of his Collegue* Volumnius, *to his aſſiſtance from* Samnium. *The united armies of the two* Conſuls *come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* §. III. Volumnius *returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the* Samnites.

§. I. *FABIUS* return'd to *Rome* to hold the *Comitia.* The Centuries, *firſt called*, had all voted for him to be one of the *Conſuls*, when he himſelf oppoſed the proceeding. At firſt he offered the ſame objection, which he had employed the Y. of R. 456. Bef. J. C. 296. 155th Conſul-p. Livy, B. 10. c. 15.

Year of ROME CCCCLVI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-ſix.

the year before. But when *Appius Claudius* (who had probably ſecured his own election) and the whole body of the Nobility, ſurrounded his chair, and preſſed him in the moſt earneſt manner *to take this opportunity of excluding the* Plebeians *from the* Conſulſhip, *and thereby reſtoring both to that Magiſtracy and to the* Patricians *their priſtine dignity*, he anſwered, *That he ſhould not have refuſed to receive the names of two* Patricians, *if he had obſerved an intention to join any other but himſelf with* Appius Claudius; *but would never give ſo bad an example, as that of ſtanding candidate, contrary to Law, in an aſſembly where he himſelf preſided.* Hereupon *Volumnius Flamma*, a *Plebeian*, was choſen Collegue to *Appius*. The *Patricians*, much diſſatisfied with *Fabius*, imputed his refuſal of the *Conſulſhip* to his diſlike of *Appius* for a Collegue, a man who far ſurpaſſed him in eloquence, and the arts of civil government.

355th Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

356th Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 10. c. 16.

Both the *Conſuls* of the laſt year received orders to continue the war in *Samnium*, in quality of *Proconſuls*, for ſix months; ſo that the Republick had very ſoon four armies on foot under four Generals.

Fabius, after his return into *Samnium*, was obliged to lead his army againſt the *Lucanians*, who had lately roſe up in arms; and he ſpent his *Proconſulate* in keeping them in awe, and hindering them from joining the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Decius* puſh'd the *Samnites* to the laſt extremity, drove their army even out of *Samnium*, and then laid ſiege to their Towns. When he had taken and ſack'd *Murgantia*, he perſuaded the ſol-

c. 17.

diers

diers to ſell their booty for money, that they might not be incumber'd with it in their future expeditions. After this, *Romulea* and *Ferentinum* were both taken by aſſault; and, to compleat the deſtruction of *Samnium*, a new army of two *Legions* and fifteen hundred auxiliaries advanced thither under the command of the *Conſul Volumnius*.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Conſulſhip.

§. II. THE war with the *Hetrurians* had fallen by lot to *Appius*. The ſtorm was now gather'd on that ſide. For the *Samnites*, who had been driven out of their own country by *Decius*, had taken refuge in *Hetruria*, and there, in a Diet held at their requeſt, had preſs'd the Chiefs of the *Lucumonies* to exert their utmoſt ſtrength againſt the *Romans*, offering to ſerve under them at their own expence, and to follow them even to the foot of the *Capitol*. The *Hetrurians*, pleaſed with this propoſal, had raiſed a formidable army, which was ſtrengthened with ſome Troops of the *Gauls*, whom they had engaged by the force of money to join them. Upon the news of ſo powerful a confederacy formed againſt the Republick, the *Romans* diſpatched away *Appius* at the head of two *Legions* and twelve thouſand auxiliaries; but it was rather to keep the enemy within bounds, than in expectation of any notable advantage from the conduct of their *Conſul*. And indeed he was worſted, for want of military ſkill, in every ſkirmiſh and ſlight action in which he ventured to engage; inſomuch that the ſoldiers had no longer any confidence in their General, and the General became diſtruſtful of his ſoldiers. In this extremity he is ſaid (for the thing is not certain)

Ex tribus annalibus citatis apud Livium, B. 10. c. 18.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Conſulſhip.

certain) to have written to his Collegue to leave *Samnium*, and haſten to his aſſiſtance. *Volumnius* came with all expedition, and the troops of *Appius* were overjoyed at his arrival. But *Appius* himſelf ſeemed ſurpriſed at it, diſown'd the letter, and reproached his Collegue with acting diſhonourably, in quitting the province aſſigned him, in order to gain the credit of giving aſſiſtance to others who did not want it. *Volumnius* upon this would have immediately returned to *Samnium*, if the officers of both armies had not intreated him to have no regard to the unaccountable behaviour of *Appius*, but to conſider the intereſt of the Republick, which required his preſence in *Hetruria: We are juſt ready to give battle, and ſhould matters go ill with us for want of your aſſiſtance, will it be inquired, whether* Appius *treated you with arrogance, or not? No, the* Roman *People will conſider only the ill ſucceſs of the battle, and impute it to your too haſty reſentments.* The Officers, while they remonſtrated theſe things, inſenſibly led both the *Conſuls* to that part of the camp where the ſoldiers were wont to meet when the General was to harangue them; and where they were actually aſſembled. There the two Collegues in longer diſcourſes, than before in their more private converſation, made their complaints of each other; and as *Volumnius* had the better cauſe, he ſurpaſſed himſelf on this occaſion in ſpeaking, for he was naturally no Orator. Upon which *Appius* could not forbear rallying: ROMANS, *you are much obliged to me, I have made a dumb* CONSUL *ſpeak. I remember, that, the firſt time* Volumnius *and I were join-*

In the year 446.

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Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Conſulſhip.

ed together in the Conſulate, *he ſcarce opened his mouth for ſome months; he had then no tongue, and now, you ſee, he is grown even eloquent, a perfect Orator.* Volumnius *anſwered, I ſhould have been better pleaſed if inſtead of your teaching me how to* talk, *I had taught you how to* fight. *The ſervice of the Republick requires at preſent an able General, more than a fine Speaker; and if you have a mind to know which of us underſtands better the conduct of an army,* that *may ſoon be decided. There are two provinces,* Samnium *and* Hetruria; *make your choice, I am ready to undertake the war in either of them.* At theſe words the ſoldiers cried out, that they ſhould both in conjunction carry on the war in *Hetruria. Volumnius* anſwer'd, *Since I have already made one miſtake, and have miſrepreſented the intention of my Collegue, I ſhould be ſorry to fall into another, by miſunderſtanding your inclinations. So put the matter therefore out of all doubt: If you would have me ſtay here, ſignify it by an acclamation.* Inſtantly the army gave a general ſhout, which was heard in the camp of the enemy, who immediately took the alarm, and drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* without delay marched out to meet them; *Appius* is ſaid to have heſitated a while, undetermined whether he ſhould fight or not, till he found that his Troops were diſpoſed to follow his Collegue, in defiance of the orders of their own General. But then an emulation for glory, and the ſhame of being obſcured by a rival, rouſed him to ſuch a degree, that he exerted himſelf beyond what could have been expected. He performed the part of an able and brave Commamder,

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

Commander, having firſt made a vow to *Bellona* to build her a Temple, in caſe he proved victorious. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were intirely defeated, and their camp taken and plunder'd.

§. III. THIS victory put an end to the miſunderſtanding between the two *Conſuls*, and they agreed to act jointly againſt *Hetruria*. But *Volumnius*, by an unexpected event, was called back into his own province. The *Samnites*, though ſo much exhauſted, had raiſed new levies, ſpread themſelves over *Campania*, and ravaged it; which obliged *Volumnius* (the *Proconſulate* of *Fabius* and *Decius* being expired) to haſten to the aſſiſtance of the *Campanians*. When he came to the foot of Mount *Maſſicus*, in the diſtrict of *Cales*, he learnt that the intention of the enemy (who were incamped near the *Vulturnus*) was to break up their camp about midnight, march home, diſburthen themſelves of their booty, and then return to make freſh devaſtations. *Volumnius* made ſo much expedition, that he came upon them, when they were unprepared for battle, ſlew ſix thouſand of them, and recovered all the ſpoil they had taken. This ſucceſs quieted the minds of the People at *Rome*, who had been much alarmed at the laſt enterprize of the *Samnites*; and they now took into conſideration the proper means to ſecure *Campania* from the like incurſions for the future. It was judged proper to ſettle two *Colonies*, one at the mouth of the *Liris*, called the *Colony* of *Minturnæ*, the other at *Sinueſſa*. However, the Senate deferred the execution of that deſign, on account

456th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 20.

c. 21.

count of matters of greater importance, which at this time indiſpenſably required their immediate attention.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

CHAP. XXII.

156th Conſulſhip.

§. I. Q. Fabius *is elected the 5th time to the* Conſulate, *and at his requeſt the* Comitia *grant him* Decius *again for a Collegue.* §. II. *A rivalſhip between the* Patrician *and* Plebeian *Ladies for the reputation of ſtrict Chaſtity.* §. III. *The* Senate *decree the conduct of the war againſt the* Hetrurians *to* Fabius, *the* Patrician Conſul. *His* Plebeian *Collegue* Decius *appeals from the* Senate's *decree to the People.* §. IV. *In an engagement which the* Romans *have with a confederate army of* Gauls *and* Samnites, Decius *(who commands the* Roman *left wing) to recover the courage of his troops, terrified and broken by the armed chariots of the* Gauls, devotes *himſelf to death in the ſame manner his father had done on a like occaſion: After which* Fabius *obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *The* Samnites *are again routed by the forces of* Appius, *now* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Proconſul Volumnius. Rome *is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

Y. of R. 457. Bef. J. C. 295.

§. I. CERTAIN advice came to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* had concluded a freſh treaty with the *Samnites*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls*; and that the armies of the four nations were already aſſembled in two camps in *Hetruria*, where was only *Appius* with his troops to make head againſt them.

156th Conſul-ſhip.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

them. The *Comitia* for the new elections being ſoon after held, *Volumnius* (who had been recalled from *Samnium* to preſide in them) before he took the ſuffrages of the *Centuries*, put the aſſembly in mind, that they were that day to elect two *Conſuls* who would have four nations to contend with; he added, that he doubted not but, in ſo perilous a ſeaſon, they would chuſe the ableſt General in the Commonwealth to the *Conſulate*; otherwiſe he would have named a *Dictator*. At theſe words all eyes were immediately turn'd again upon *Fabius*. But when the *Centuries, firſt called*, had voted for him and for *Volumnius*, he ſtarted difficulties, as formerly, and excuſed himſelf on account of his age. However, he at length ſignified his conſent, provided he might again have *Decius* for his Collegue: *He will be a ſupport to my old age. One Cenſorſhip and two Conſulates, in which* Decius *and I have been already Collegues, have made me know what a happineſs it is to the Commonwealth to have her Magiſtrates live in concord. It is hard for an old man to ſuit himſelf to a new Partner in Power. 'Twill be much eaſier to communicate my thoughts freely to a friend with whom I am thoroughly acquainted.* *Volumnius* approved of *Fabius*'s requeſt, and made a fine encomium upon *Decius*, inſiſting much *on the great advantages which would flow from the harmony between two Generals in ſuch ſtrict friendſhip.* The day being ſpent in theſe harangues, the elections were put off to the next, and then *Fabius* * and *Decius* † (though the latter was abſent from the aſſembly) were declared *Conſuls*; *Appius* choſen *Prætor*,

156th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 21.

c. 22.

* A fifth time.
† A fourth time.

Prætor, and *Volumnius* continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of *Proconſul.* Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

§. II. IN this criſis of an approaching terrible war, the People being very ſuperſtitious multiplied their publick acts of Devotion; and theſe gave riſe to a quarrel among the *Roman* Ladies. In the Ox-market was a Temple built to the honour of *Patrician* Chaſtity; and none of the wives of *Plebeians*, how illuſtrious ſoever their huſbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, *Aula Virginia* being herſelf nobly deſcended, and being the wife of the *Plebeian Conſul Volumnius*, claimed a right of aſſiſting at the ceremonies with the *Patrician* Ladies. And when the latter oppoſed her pretenſions, *What!* ſaid ſhe, *is my virtue* ‡ *ſuſpected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two huſbands?* (Second marriages were at this time ſo great a blemiſh on the *Roman* women, that it excluded them the Temple of *Chaſtity.*) But all that *Virginia* could ſay was to no purpoſe. She was abſolutely refuſed admittance into the ſanctuary. Upon this ſhe formed the reſolution of having a Temple dedicated to *Plebeian* Chaſtity: She divided a part of her own houſe from the reſt, cauſed an altar to be erected and conſecrated in it, and having there aſſembled the *Plebeian* women of the greateſt diſtinction, complained to them of the pride of the *Patrician* Dames, told them her deſign, and preſs'd them to an emulation with thoſe haughty Ladies in the point of Modeſty and Virtue. This ſcheme was readily approved, Cere-

156th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 23.

‡ Pudicitia.

Year of ROME cccclvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-five.

monies were inſtituted and obſerved, much like thoſe practiſed in the other Temple; and this fervour continued for ſome time: But at length women of little merit and doubtful characters being admitted into the aſſembly, it ſunk into diſgrace, and no more mention was made of *Plebeian* chaſtity.

156th Conſulſhip.

The ſame year, the *Curule Ædiles (Cn.* and *Q. Ogulnius)* cited ſome uſurers to trial; and the effects of theſe being, by ſentence, confiſcated to the Publick, thoſe Magiſtrates purchaſed, with the produce, brazen gates for the Capitol; ſilver veſſels ſufficient to furniſh three Tables in the chapel of *Jupiter*; a ſtatue of this God in a chariot drawn by four horſes, which was placed on the pinnacle of his temple; images of the two infants (founders of the city) ſuckled by a ſhe-wolf. This monument they placed at the *Ruminal Fig-tree*, i. e. in the place, where had ſtood the wild fig-tree, under which *Romulus* and *Remus* were ſaid (in the fable concerning them) to have been carried by the ſtream[a].

Year of ROME cccclviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-four.

§. III. WHEN the time came for *Fabius* and *Decius* to enter upon office, it was natural to ſuppoſe that the latter would be induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit

157th Conſulſhip.

[a] The *Ædiles*, from the ſame fund, paved with ſquare ſtone the road from the gate *Capena* to the Temple of *Mars*, which was not far from it, at the entrance of the *Appian* way. About the ſame time, *Ælius* and *Fulvius*, the *Plebeian Ædiles*, from the money raiſed by fines laid on the farmers of the publick paſture grounds, entertained the People with ſome ſhews, and preſented ſome gold cups to *Ceres*.

of

of his Collegue, to compliment him with the command of the army in *Hetruria*, without drawing lots. But as the *Patricians* made it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the *Plebeians*, on the other hand, would not ſuffer *Fabius* to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, leſt the *Patrician Conſuls* ſhould for the future claim a right of chuſing their provinces; and the pacifick-minded *Decius* was compelled to go with the ſtream of his party. The queſtion being carried againſt him in the Senate, he appealed to the People in *Comitia*. There the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe in few words, and more in the language of Soldiers than of Orators. *What!* ſaid *Fabius*, *have I planted a tree, and ſhall another gather the fruits of it? It was I who firſt opened a way into* Hetruria *through the* Ciminian *Foreſt, till then deemed impracticable. To what purpoſe did the People force me, at my age, to put myſelf at the helm of affairs, if they intended to give the conduct of the war to another?* After this he fell by degrees to complain of his own choice of a Collegue, who ſeemed rather to be an adverſary than a friend, and to repent of the concord in which they had lived together during their partnerſhips in office. And he concluded with aſſuring the aſſembly, that, notwithſtanding any thing he had ſaid, he pretended to no other right to command in the preſent war, than what their opinion of his abilities ſhould give him; and that as he had ſubmitted his cauſe to the determina-

Year of ROME cccclviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-four.

157th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 24.

Year of ROME cccclviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-four.

157th Conſulſhip.

tion of the Senate, he was equally ready to abide by the deciſion of the People.

Decius began his harangue with complaining of the partiality of the Senate, who, he ſaid, envied the *Plebeians* every degree of honour; he then pleaded the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the *Conſuls* drawing lots for their provinces, after which he thus proceeded: *Did the queſtion relate only to the honouring of* Fabius, *He has ſo well deſerved of the Publick, and I in particular am ſo much obliged to him, that I ſhould never be backward to contribute to his glory, if I could do it without ſhame and diſgrace to myſelf. But who can be ſo blind as not to ſee, that if, in the caſe of a dangerous war, the conduct of it be given to one of the Conſuls without drawing lots, the other muſt be deemed inſufficient, uſeleſs, and ſupernumerary?* Fabius *boaſts of his exploits in* Hetruria, *and* Decius *is ambitious of being able to boaſt of the like exploits; and perhaps it may be his fortune to extinguiſh that fire which* Fabius *only cover'd, and which has often ſince broke out afreſh. As for Honours and Rewards, I ſhall be ever ready to yield them to my Collegue, out of reſpect to his Age and Dignity; but when the queſtion is of Difficulties and Dangers, I can never willingly yield theſe either to him or to any other.* When *Decius* had ended, *Fabius* made only this ſhort reply: *I deſire,* Romans, *that, before you decide on the preſent diſpute, you will hear* Appius's *letters read.* This ſaid, he left the aſſembly. *Appius,* in his letters, had painted the dangers with which the Republick was threaten'd in very lively colours; and there

there needed no more to induce the *Comitia* to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy. The People inſtantly and unanimouſly determined, that the conduct of the war in *Hetruria* ſhould be committed to *Fabius*.

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§. IV. AND now all the *Roman* youth were eager to ſerve under the command of ſo able a General. But he, either to diſpel the publick fears by a ſhew of confidence, or to prevent any aſſociates being joined with him, declared, that he would take no ſtronger a reinforcement to the army than four thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. With theſe he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was ſtill ſtrengthening with new fortifications. Not far from it he met a detachment, ſent to cut wood in a neighbouring foreſt. *Whither are you going, ſoldiers?* ſaid *Fabius*. They anſwer'd, *To the foreſt, for wood to fortify the camp. What!* cried the General, *is it not already fortified? Doubtleſs it is*, reply'd the Soldiers; *and we are ſurrounded by a double ditch and a double rampart, yet we are ſtill afraid. You have wood enough*, ſaid *Fabius*; *return to the camp, and level the rampart.* The detachment immediately return'd, and put the *Conſul*'s orders in execution, which much alarmed both the Army and its General, till the workmen inform'd them, that what they were doing was by the command of *Fabius*, who would ſoon be in the camp. *Fabius* arrived the ſame day; and the next *Appius* ſet out for *Rome*, to take poſſeſſion of the *Prætorſhip*, to which he had been choſen,

157th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 25.

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as an employment better ſuited to his talents and capacity, than the command of an army.

Fabius obſerved a quite different conduct from that of his predeceſſor. Inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within fortifications, he kept them in continual motion. He ſaid, nothing was more healthful for ſoldiers than a frequent change of place, and to march from one country to another; and indeed he obliged them often to make as long marches as was poſſible at that time of the year, for the winter was not yet over; and by this means he gave his troops an air of confidence.

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But before the ſeaſon permitted him to enter upon action, he went back to *Rome*, either of his own motion, or by invitation of the Senate. (Some authors ſay, that *Appius* at his return had made a dreadful repreſentation of the forces of the enemy, and had urged the neceſſity of ſending either *Decius* or *Volumnius* with a ſecond army to his aſſiſtance; and they add, that *Decius* had upon this occaſion declared it to be his opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be left at full liberty to determine concerning the wants of his army, and the intereſt of the Republick; and had moved, that he might be ſent for to *Rome*, to give his judgment of the ſtate of affairs.) When *Fabius* arrived, he gave ſuch an account of things to the Senate and People, as neither to increaſe the apprehenſions of the Republick, nor to let her ſleep in ſecurity. As to another General's being joined with him, he ſaid, he ſhould acquieſce in it, on account of the fears of others, not his own,

Livy, P. 10. c. 26.

nor

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nor becauſe he thought the Republick to be in any danger; but then he deſired that *Decius* might be the perſon: *How is it poſſible that I ſhould forget the good intelligence in which we formerly lived? There is no man that I can prefer before him. With him I ſhall never want forces, nor have too many enemies to deal with. But if my Collegue has other views, and cares not to act in conjunction with me, I am willing that* Volumnius *be ſent in his ſtead.* The Senate, the People, and *Decius* himſelf left the matter wholly to the determination of *Fabius*. *Decius* declared, that he was ready to go either to *Samnium* or *Hetruria*, as his Collegue judged beſt; a declaration ſo pleaſing to the aſſembly, and which ſpread ſuch a joy among them, that they congratulated one another as if victory had been already gained, and they were decreeing their Generals a Triumph, not the conduct of a war.

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Before the *Conſuls* left *Rome*, they ſent away the *Proconſul Volumnius* into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the ſide of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one on the hill *Vaticanus*, cloſe by the *Janiculum*, the other in the country of the *Faliſci*. After theſe regulations they ſet out for *Hetruria*, and upon the road received the news of the total defeat of a *Legion* which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, near old *Cluſium*. A numerous body of thoſe *Gauls* called *Senones* had ſurrounded the *Romans*, and cut them all off. However, the *Conſuls* were not diſcouraged by this accident. Their army conſiſted of four *Legions*, a good number of *Ro-*

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man Knights, a thouſand *Campanian* Horſe, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than the forces of the *Romans*. They divided it into two parts, and incamped ſeparately, but not far from each other, in the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. It is ſaid, that the army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who incamped together, conſiſted of a hundred and forty three thouſand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty-ſix thouſand Horſe. What the number was of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* (who jointly made another camp) is not told. It was agreed among theſe Confederates, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only ſhould engage the *Romans* in the field, whilſt the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attack'd their two camps. *Fabius* had notice, by deſerters, of this deſign; and in order to diſconcert it, and make a diverſion, he ſent directions to the *Proprætors*, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, who were incamp'd near *Rome*, to march their two armies into *Hetruria*, and ravage it. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* haſten'd to the relief of the poor People, whoſe houſes were plunder'd, and lands laid waſte; and, during their abſence, the *Conſuls* brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle. This is the firſt time that we read of arm'd Chariots us'd in the wars of *Italy*. The *Gauls* ſurpriſed the *Romans*, ſoon after the action began, with this new way of fighting. Not only the *Roman* Cavalry, but the Infantry too of the left wing, which *Decius* commanded, was diſorder'd, and intirely broken by them; nor could he by his utmoſt efforts engage his terrified ſoldiers to rally.

157th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 27. and 28.

rally. In this extremity he remember'd the example of his father, and in the very ſame manner devoted himſelf to the *Dii Manes* to ſave his army. Aſſiſted by *M. Livius* the *Pontifex*, he performed the ſame ceremonies, pronounced the ſame form of words, and ruſh'd unarm'd among the enemy. The loſs of the General uſually occaſions the defeat of his Troops; but ſuch was the ſuperſtition of the *Romans*, that the death of their General, in this way of ſacrifice, gave them new courage. The *Pontifex*, who was himſelf a brave ſoldier, took advantage of their prejudices, put himſelf at their head, and eaſily brought them to renew the attack, in which they were ſeconded by ſome troops, ſent by *Fabius* from the rear, under the command of his two Lieutenants. The fortune of the day quickly changed in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing.

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Livy, B. 10. c. 29.

In the mean time *Fabius*, who had hitherto done little more than act upon the defenſive, artfully managing his troops till the firſt fury of the *Samnites* was abated, now ordered his Cavalry to wheel about, flank the wings of the enemy, and be ready to charge upon a ſignal given. He then began to preſs upon the enemy in front; and as ſoon as he perceived that their ſtrength was greatly exhauſted, he made Horſe and Foot, troops of Reſerve, all charge at once; nor could the *Samnites* ſuſtain the ſhock; they fled to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* by themſelves to make good the fight.

To break the *Gauls*, who yet kept their ground, *Fabius* detached a body of five hundred *Campanian* Horſe

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Horſe to fetch a compaſs, and fall upon their rear, commanding the *Principes* of the ſecond *Legion* to follow this detachment of Horſe, and wherever they ſhould ſee the enemy's ranks broken by them, to preſs on, and hinder the *Gauls* from rallying. This motion ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Gauls* were at length defeated.

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In the mean time *Fabius* forced the camp of the *Samnites*, and made a terrible ſlaughter there. Twenty-five thouſand of the enemy were killed in the action of this day, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent *Samnite* Commander, who by his negotiations had brought about the formidable alliance of the four nations. The *Romans* loſt of the left wing ſeven thouſand men, and one thouſand two hundred in the right. The *Conſul*'s firſt care, after the victory, was to perform a promiſe he had made in the heat of the battle, to burn the ſpoils of the enemy in honour to *Jupiter the Conqueror*. He then cauſed ſearch to be made for the body of *Decius*, which being hidden under heaps of the ſlain, could not be diſcovered that day, but the day following was found; due Obſequies were performed for the dead Hero, and *Fabius* ſpoke his Funeral Oration.

Livy, B. 10. c. 30.

As for the *Proprætors*, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, they gained great advantages in *Hetruria*; and the *Proconſul Volumnius* obtained a conſiderable victory over the *Samnites* at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. But notwithſtanding all theſe victories, neither *Samnites* nor *Hetrurians* were yet brought into

c. 31. ſubjection. The latter took courage, and aſſembled

bled freſh forces as ſoon as *Fabius* left the country, ſo that he was obliged to lead his army thither again. A new victory obtained over them was the laſt of this Hero's exploits, in the ſtation of Chief Commander. Year of ROME cccclviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-four.

Fabius had a ſon whoſe ſurname was *Gurges*, or *The Gulph*, an appellation given him on account of his exceſſive intemperance in his youth. This man afterwards corrected his way of living, and though he never equalled his father in any kind of merit, became worthy of Publick Offices. He was now *Curule Ædile*, and, in order to wipe off the ſhame of his paſt exceſſes, turned a zealous reformer of manners. He brought before the Tribunal of the People accuſations of Adultery againſt great numbers of women of diſtinction, who, being convicted, were condemned to pecuniary fines. The money ariſing from theſe fines he conſecrated to the building of a Temple to *Venus* near the great *Circus*. 157th Conſulſhip. Macrob. Satur. B. 3. c. 13.

§. V. BEFORE the end of this year the *Samnites* brought two new armies into the field in different places, and even acted on the offenſive. Upon which *Appius* the *Prætor* was diſpatched from *Rome* to put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which *Decius* had commanded, and was ordered to go to the aſſiſtance of the *Proconſul Volumnius*. Theſe two Generals having united their forces, defeated the enemy (whom they had conſtrained to join theirs) in a pitched battle fought in the *Campi Stellates* in *Campania*. The *Samnites* loſt ſixteen thouſand three hundred men.

Rome

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Rome had never before made war in ſo many places at the ſame time with more ſucceſs. But, in the midſt of her rejoicings for ſuch ſignal victories, ſhe was viſited with a dreadful Plague. It was a melancholy contraſt, as *Oroſius* obſerves, to behold the Triumphal Proceſſion of *Fabius* often interrupted by Funerals; and the applauſes of the People by the lamentations of thoſe who bewailed the dead, or the dying.

157th Conſulſhip. Oroſ. B. 3. c. 21. Zonaras, B. 6. Livy, B. 10. c. 31.

Prodigies were never in greater plenty than this year. In three days there flowed ſucceſſively, from the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, three different liquors; the firſt day blood, the ſecond honey, and the third milk; and in divers places it rained earth. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline* Books were conſulted upon theſe imaginary prognoſticks, and the joy for paſt victories was much damped by the preſent calamity, and by the apprehenſion of impending evils.

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. *The war was carried on againſt the* Samnites *with various ſucceſs.* §. II. *Three of the* Lucumonies *of* Hetruria *are reduced to ſue for peace.* §. III. *The* Samnite *war is continued. The* Samnites *make* 16000 *of their ſoldiers bind themſelves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. The* Romans *gain the victory by a new ſtratagem.* §. IV. *The war breaks out afreſh in* Hetruria. *The* Hetrurians *are reduced to buy a truce for a year. In this year a Sun-dial is, for the firſt time,*

ſeen

ſeen at Rome. §. V. *A new regulation is made relating to the Guardianſhip of Orphans, and another relating to the* Publick Games.

§. I. THE Republick had now been forty-eight years in war with the *Samnites*, almoſt without interruption; and though the latter had been ſo often vanquiſhed, they did not relinquiſh the hope of being finally the Conquerors. Four times (ſays *Livy*) they had been defeated the very laſt year; they had loſt their ableſt General; they ſaw their Allies in the ſame adverſe fortune as themſelves; they could neither by their own ſtrength, nor by foreign aid, maintain their ground; yet they did not deſiſt from the war: They were never weary of fighting, even unfortunately, in the defence of liberty: They choſe rather to be vanquiſhed than not ſtrive for victory.

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158th Conſulſhip.

So conſiderable were the preparations they made to take the field once more, that the Senate thought it neceſſary to employ againſt them both the new *Conſuls L. Poſthumius* * *Megellus* and *M. Atilius Regulus:* But, *Poſthumius* falling ſick, *Atilius* was diſpatched away without him, to attack the enemy before they could get out of *Samnium.* The two armies met juſt upon the confines of *Campania*; and here the *Conſul* was no ſooner incamped than the *Samnites* formed the bold deſign of forcing his lines. By the help of a very thick fog they approached the *Roman* camp, ſurpriſed the advanced guards, made themſelves maſters of the *Decuman* gate, and penetrated as far

Livy, B. 10. c. 32. and 33.

* A ſecond time.

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far as to the *Quæſtor*'s tent, where the military Cheſt was kept. The alarm reaching to the General's quarters, he awaked, put himſelf at the head of ſome *Manipuli*, and, in ſhort, repulſed the enemy, but durſt not purſue them for fear of an ambuſh. Though this enterprize of the *Samnites* did not prove ſucceſsful, yet the courage with which they had felt themſelves animated to make the attempt gave them new confidence; and they kept the *Romans* ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they could not enter *Samnium*, to live there upon free quarter.

The diſadvantageous ſituation of *Atilius*'s army alarm'd the Senate and People at *Rome*; ſo that *Poſthumius*, tho' not perfectly recover'd, thought himſelf obliged to ſet out for *Samnium* with the two *Legions* allotted him. Upon his arrival the *Samnites*, being in no condition to make head againſt two *Conſular* armies, decamped in haſte, and left their country open to be pillaged. *Poſthumius* applied himſelf to the beſieging of Towns, and took *Milionia* and *Triventum*; the latter without fighting.

Livy, B. 10. c. 34, 35, and 36.

Atilius met with more difficulties and danger in his expeditions. Having received intelligence that the *Samnites* were beſieging *Luceria*, in *Apulia*, he haſtened to its relief, but found the enemy in his way. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Romans* ſuffered moſt; and this misfortune ſo mightily dejected them, that they paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs, expecting every moment to ſee the enemy approach to force their lines. But it happened on the other

hand, that the *Samnites* were no leſs terrified, and thought only of returning home. The difficulty was how to put their deſign in execution, becauſe the place where they were poſted was a kind of defile and much confined, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*. They reſolved at length to go directly towards the *Roman* camp, endeavour to march along by the ſide of it, and make the plain. The *Conſul* imagining that the enemy was come to attack him, gave orders to his *Legions* to prepare for battle, and to follow him out of the camp. But though the Officers were ready enough to obey him, the Soldiers were ſo fatigued and intimidated, that he could not, even by ſoft words, prevail with them to ſtir. In the mean time the *Samnites* drew near, and the *Roman* Soldiers pretended to diſcern, that they were loaded with ſtakes, as if they meant to form a Paliſade round the camp. The *Conſul* hereupon expoſtulated with his men on the diſgrace of ſuffering themſelves to be ſhut up in their camp to ſtarve there; and ſhame at length made them march out, tho' very ſlowly and unwillingly. The motion of the *Romans* was a diſappointment to the *Samnites*, for they had hoped to avoid a battle; however when they found it neceſſary to fight, they prepared for it; and thus two coward armies were brought to an engagement intirely againſt their inclinations. The *Romans* gave ground and would have fled into their intrenchments; but *Atilius* ordering ſome troops of Horſe to the rear of his Infantry, with directions to kill every *Roman* who ſhould attempt to enter

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enter the camp, the run-aways were hereby brought to rally and renew the fight. The victory at length fell to the *Romans*, after they had loſt 7300 men. *Atilius* ſoon after, in his march homeward, met with a body of *Samnites*, who having made an incurſion into the country of the *Volſci*, and brought thence a conſiderable booty and many *Roman* priſoners, were marching home in great diſorder; he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and releaſed the captives. After this he returned to *Rome*, to preſide at the new elections.

A *Triumph* he was [a] refuſed for two reaſons, for having loſt ſo many men in the battle, and for having releaſed his priſoners on the ſole condition of their paſſing under the yoke.

Livy, B. 20. c. 37.

§. II. THE other Conſul, *Poſthumius*, becauſe he could find no employment for his Troops in *Samnium*, marched them, without any order from the Senate, into *Hetruria*. Here he defeated the *Volſinienſes*, took *Ruſellæ* by aſſault, and reduced *Volſinii*, *Peruſia*, and *Arretium* (three principal cities) to ſue for peace. The Senate granted them a truce of forty years, on condition of their paying each 500,000 pounds of braſs into the treaſury of the Republick. For theſe exploits the *Conſul*, without ſcruple, petitioned the Senate for a *Triumph*; not that he expected the *Fathers* would grant it, but becauſe it was cuſtomary, on ſuch occaſions, to make the firſt application to *them*. Some oppoſed his requeſt on pretence that he had not taken the field early enough;

[a] The *Faſt. Cap.* give *Atilius* a Triumph over the *Volſonii* and *Samnites*.

others,

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others, becauſe he had left his province without the Senate's direction. *Poſthumius* perceiving that the members who made theſe objections were influenced partly by their enmity to him, partly by their friendſhip for the other *Conſul* (whom, having met with the like refuſal, they would conſole, by putting his Collegue on the ſame foot with him) frankly addreſſed the houſe in theſe terms: "*Conſcript Fathers*, I ſhall not have my mind ſo wholly poſſeſſed with the remembrance and contemplation of your majeſty, as to forget "that I am a *Conſul*. The wars, which I under- "took, I have conducted with ſucceſs; I have "ſubdued *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; I have obtain- "ed for the Republick victory and peace; and "now in right of the ſame authority by which "I made war, *I will triumph.*" This ſaid, he left the aſſembly. A conteſt hereupon aroſe among the *Tribunes of the Commons*: Some ſaid, they would *forbid* his Triumph, as unprecedented, and of bad example; others declared they would ſupport him in his pretenſion. The affair came at length before the People; and *Poſthumius* was ſummoned to the Aſſembly. He put them in mind, "that the Conſuls *Valerius* and *Horatius* *, * In 304. "and lately *Marcius Rutilus*, father of one of the "preſent Cenſors, had *triumphed*, not by the Au- "thority of the *Senate*, but by *the will of the Peo- "ple*:" He added, "That, if he had not known "that ſome of the *Tribunes*, mere vaſſals to the "nobles, would have employed their *Veto* againſt his bill, he ſhould have made his firſt application

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" to the *Comitia*; for that the good pleaſure and " favour of the *People*, unanimous, did, and ever " would, with him, ſupply the place of all De- " crees and Commands." The next day, contrary to the will of the whole Senate, and *in ſpite of the* † *oppoſition* of *ſeven* of the *Tribunes*, the *Conſul*, aided by the other *three*, obtained the honours of *the triumph*; and the people ſolemnized the day with extraordinary rejoicings [a].

158th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 37. † Adverſus interceſſionem. Faſt. Capit.

BY a *Cenſus* taken this * year, the number of *Roman* Citizens, fit to bear arms, appeared to be 262,322. *Livy* transfers this *Cenſus* to the next year, and calls the *Luſtrum* that followed it, the [nineteenth, reckoning only from the inſtitution (in the year 310) of the *Cenſorſhip*; and even then there is the difference of one between his reckoning, and that of the *Faſti*; according to which the *Cenſus* of this year was the twentieth, and the *Luſtrum* the thirtieth.

Year of ROME CCCCLX. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety-two.

§. III. TO *L. Papirius Curſor* (ſon of the famous Hero of that name, five times *Conſul*) and *Sp. Carvilius* were transferred the *Conſular Faſces*. *Atilius*, the late *Conſul*, obtained the *Prætorſhip*. His Collegue *Poſthumius*, to avoid a trial before the People, to which a certain *Tribune*, named *Scantius*, had cited him [probably for having

159th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 10. c. 47.

[a] *Livy*, at the end of this account acquaints us, that there is no certainty concerning the military actions of this year, or the commanders who performed them; and he mentions ſome particulars, as related by *Claudius*, others as related by *Fabius*, which are not in the foregoing narrative, but are in ſome things inconſiſtent with it.

left

left his Province without orders] engaged *Carvilius* to appoint him one of his Lieutenants.

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AT this time the *Samnites*, to make another vigorous effort, publiſhed a new Law, importing that whoever, of an age fit to bear arms, ſhould not appear in the field on a ſummons from the General, or ſhould leave the ſervice without permiſſion, his head ſhould be devoted to *Jupiter*: (*i. e.* it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill him wherever found) and they appointed *Aquilonia* [a town of *Hirpinia* ſituated between *Beneventum* and *Luceria*] to be the place of rendezvous.

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A numerous army being by this means aſſembled, the General cauſed to be erected, in the center of the camp, a tent or booth two hundred feet ſquare, covered on the top with linnen cloth, and ſo cloſe on all ſides, that nothing of what paſſed within could be ſeen by thoſe without. Here Sacrifices were offered according to an *old* Ceremonial, which *Ovius Paccius*, an *old* prieſt, pretended to have found in an *old* linnen book. This rite being performed, the General ſummoned all the principal men, men diſtinguiſhed either by their birth or exploits, and introduced them one by one into the tent. Here, to their unſpeakable terror, they beheld altars ſurrounded with ſlaughtered victims, and *Centurions* ſtanding by with drawn ſwords, and each perſon introduced was led to the altars more like a victim, than an aſſiſtant at a ſacrifice. Immediately was adminiſtered to him an oath of ſecrecy as to every thing he ſhould hear or ſee in that place; after which he was conſtrained to pronounce a curſe upon himſelf,

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ſelf, his family, and his poſterity, if he did not follow wherever the Generals ſhould lead him to fight, if he ever fled himſelf, or if he did not kill thoſe whom he ſhould ſee flying. Some of the firſt refuſing to ſwear, were inſtantly killed; and their bodies, thrown among the carcaſſes of the victims, were, to thoſe who followed, an effectual leſſon to comply. Of the principal men of the *Samnites*, when they had all gone through this Ceremony, the General ſelected ten, commanding that each of theſe ſhould, for the ſervice, chuſe[a], out of his acquaintance, the man upon whoſe bravery he could moſt rely, and that this man ſhould chuſe another, of whom he had the like opinion, and ſo on, each man choſen chuſing another, till the number of 16,000 was compleated. Theſe were called the *Linnen-Legion* (Legio Linteata) from the covering of the Tent where the Nobility were ſworn; and they had finer helmets and bucklers than the reſt of the Troops, amounting to above 20000, who, nevertheleſs, made a fine appearance.

Liv. B. 10. c. 39.

While theſe things were doing, *Carvilius*, at the head of the army, which *Atilius* had left near *Interamna*, made his way towards *Samnium*; and his firſt exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city of *Sabinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. *Papirius* in the mean time haſtened the new levies at *Rome*, and, as ſoon as his *Legions* were compleat, entered upon action. He took *Fur-*

[a] This ſeems to be the meaning of *Livy*'s words; Decem nominatis ab imperatore, eis dictum, ut vir virum legerent, donec ſexdecim millium numerum confeciſſent.

conia

conia (Livy calls it *Duronia)* in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and then joining his Collegue, they went together to ravage that part of the *Volſcian* territory, which was under the domination of the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* prepared to lay ſiege to *Cominium*, in the extremity of the eaſtern part of *Samnium*; and *Papirius* marched to *Aquilonia*, where the main ſtrength of the *Samnites* was aſſembled.

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PAPIRIUS, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, acquainted his Collegue, by a meſſenger, that he intended to give battle the next day, in caſe the *Auſpices* were favourable; and deſired him to preſs the ſiege of *Cominium* vigorouſly, that no detachments might be ſent from thence to ſtrengthen the *Samnite* army. Then calling his Troops together, he exhorted them *not to fear the enemy for the extraordinary methods they had taken to make themſelves valiant*; told them, *That Oaths, extorted by fear and violence, would never give true courage*; put them in mind of his Father's victory over a *Samnite* army, which had *made themſelves fine, as theſe had done, with proud Creſts to their Helmets, and magnificent Bucklers.* Animated by theſe words the ſoldiers with one voice call'd out to lead them to battle: Nay, ſo univerſal was the deſire of coming to an engagement, that one of the *Pullarii*, or Keepers of the *Chickens*, made a falſe report of their behaviour, and declared, that they had leapt preſently out of their cage, and fed ſo greedily as to let ſome of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement: Good omens theſe, but the facts were

Liv. B. 10. c. 40.

Tripudium Soliſſimum.

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159th Conſulſhip. Val. Max. B. 7. c. 2.

not true. The General ſeem'd overjoy'd at the Augury, and order'd preparations to be made for fighting. When, the next day, he had aſſigned his ſeveral officers their poſts, and had made all the proper diſpoſitions to charge the enemy, his nephew *Papirius*, a youth born in an age (ſays *Livy)* when men were not yet acquainted with that philoſophy which teaches a contempt of the Gods, diſcover'd to him the error he was in; and he did this at the inſtigation of ſome *Roman* Knights, who had overheard the keepers of the *Chickens* diſputing about the *Augury* of that day. The General anſwered, *I commend your pious zeal and care: But if the* Augur *has given a falſe account, the vengeance will fall upon his head alone. The* Augury, *as reported to me, was good and fortunate for the* Roman *People.* He then commanded, that the Keepers of the *Chickens* ſhould be placed at the head of the firſt line; and, before the two armies came to a cloſe engagement, he who had made the falſe report was killed by an unknown hand [probably by order of the *Conſul.*] The news being brought to *Papirius*, he pretended to conſider it as a ſtroke from heaven: *The Gods are with us*, he cried, *their vengeance has ſpent itſelf on the guilty head.* In the beginning of the action the *Samnites*, eſpecially thoſe who had bound themſelves by oath not to fly, made a vigorous reſiſtance; till on a ſudden they perceived at ſome diſtance a cloud of duſt, ſuch as is wont to be raiſed by the march of a conſiderable army. This duſt was cauſed by the ſervants and muleteers of the *Roman* camp, whom *Papirius* had

Liv. B. 10. c. 41, 42.

had order'd one of his officers to mount upon mules and beaſts of burden, and lead them, together with ſome *Manipuli* of the allies, by round-about ways to the top of a neighbouring hill, from whence they were to fall upon the enemy in the heat of the battle. Theſe troops had provided themſelves with branches of trees, which they had trained along the ground, to raiſe the greater duſt. Nothing could be ſeen but the tops of ſome ſtandards and lances, and ſomething like cavalry, which ſeemed to flank a body of infantry on each ſide. Both armies were deceived by this appearance; and, the better to carry on the deceit, *Papirius* himſelf pretended to be ſurpriſed, and cried out with an air of joy, COMINIUM *muſt certainly be taken, and my Collegue is come to my aſſiſtance. Courage, ſoldiers, let us make haſte to gain the victory, before another army can arrive to ſhare the glory of the day.* Then making the ſignal for his Cavalry to charge, they inſtantly gave the reins to their horſes, drove full ſpeed through the files of the Infantry (that widen'd and made room for that purpoſe) upon the enemy's Battalions, and quickly put them to the rout. Twelve thouſand of the *Samnites*, according to *Oroſius*, were ſlain; but, according to *Livy*, above thirty thouſand; and *Aquilonia*, whither moſt of the fugitives fled for ſhelter, was ſoon after taken.

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159th Conſulſhip. Frontinii Strat. B. 2. c. 4.

Oroſ. B. 3. c. 22.

It is recorded (ſays *Livy*) that *Papirius*, whether from natural temper, or from a confidence of ſucceſs, ſhewed, in the important battle of this day, a chearfulneſs, ſuch as had hardly ever been ſeen in any other General on a like occaſion.

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From the ſame ſtrength of mind it was, that a doubtful *Augury* could not divert him from fighting, and that, in the heat of action, when it was cuſtomary for commanders to vow temples to the Gods, he only vowed, that, in caſe of victory, he would make to *Jupiter* a Libation of wine mixed with honey, before he taſted wine himſelf. The Gods were pleaſed with the vow, and turned the bad omens to good.

159th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 10. c. 43. & ſeq.

§. IV. *CARVILIUS* was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon *Cominium*, according to the agreement between him and his Collegue, when he received a letter which *Papirius* had wrote to him before the battle, with notice that the *Samnites* had ſent away a large detachment of their army to relieve the place. Upon this news he diſpatch'd *Brutus Scæva*, with the firſt *Legion* and twenty *Cohorts* of auxiliaries, to meet the *Samnite* reinforcement, with orders to amuſe, or fight them, wherever he ſhould find them. In the mean time, with the reſt of his army he gave an aſſault to the town, and took it. The beſieged, to the number of 15400, ſurrender'd at diſcretion, 4380 had been ſlain.

Such was the ſucceſs at *Cominium* and *Aquilonia*. Both theſe towns were given up to the ſoldiers to be plundered, and then were burnt. The two detachments did not come to an engagement; for, that of the *Samnites* being recalled when within ſeven miles of *Cominium*, *Brutus Scæva* did not meet with it.

After theſe conqueſts, the two armies incamped together, but in a council of war it being judged

judged expedient to puſh the advantages gained over the *Samnites*, to the total reduction of them, by taking the reſt of their cities, *Carvilius* went to lay ſiege to *Volana* (in *Lucania*, near Cape *Palinurus*) dependent doubtleſs on the *Samnites*; and *Papirius* to attempt the conqueſt of *Sepinum*, a town ſituated at the foot of the *Apennines*, near the head of the *Tamarus*.

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159th Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 10. c. 43. & ſeq.

The news of the great ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium* was the more agreeable at *Rome*, as an account came at the ſame time, that the *Hetrurians* were beginning to take arms again; which account was ſoon after confirmed by deputies ſent from ſome cities in alliance with the Republick. Nor was this all; the *Faliſci*, who were the neareſt neighbours to *Rome* on the ſide of *Hetruria*, revolted, and join'd the enemy. It was neceſſary therefore to recall one of the *Conſuls*, with his army, from *Samnium*; they were order'd to caſt lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, and it fell to *Carvilius*, who by this time had taken *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum* from the *Samnites*. c. 45.

Papirius, after the departure of his Collegue, took *Sepinum* by aſſault, and gave the booty to his ſoldiers. He then return'd to *Rome*, full of glory, in the month of *February*, and was honour'd with a Triumph. The rich ſpoils taken from the *Samnites* made his proceſſion very magnificent. *Papirius* had brought away from the conquer'd countries 2,533,000 [a] pounds weight of braſs, c. 46.

[a] Between 6 and 7000*l.* Sterling.

and

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and 1330 pounds weight of ſilver. But though theſe riches ſwell'd the pomp of the victor's Triumph, he loſt the good-will of his ſoldiers, by giving all into the publick treaſury. And the People's diſcontent was yet greater, when a tax came to be laid upon them to pay his troops, which might have been ſatisfy'd by diſtributing among them a part of that wealth. *Papirius* on this occaſion dedicated a Temple (to *Quirinus*) which his father, when Dictator, had vowed. He adorn'd it with the fine ſpoils taken from the *Samnites*. Upon this Temple was alſo fixed a Sun-dial, the firſt ever ſeen at *Rome*. *Anaximenes the Mileſian* had many years before, as *Pliny* tells us, diſcover'd the ſecret, but the invention had not reached to *Rome*. The *Romans* for a long while marked only the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; afterwards they obſerved the hour of noon, but in a very groſs manner. When the ſun ſhined between the *Roſtra* and the houſe appointed for the reception of Ambaſſadors, one of the *Conſul*'s heralds uſed to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day. But now they could mark the ſeveral hours of the day; and the Water-clock, invented ſoon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

159th Conſulſhip. Plin. B. 7. c. 60.

As ſoon as *Papirius* had triumph'd, he left *Rome* again, to lead his troops into the territory of *Veſcia*, which the *Samnites* ſtill infeſted, and there he paſſed the reſt of the winter. In the mean time *Carvilius*, in *Hetruria*, took *Troilium* by aſſault, and reduced the *Faliſci* to ſue for peace. He granted them however no more than a year's truce,

Livy, B. 10. c. 46.

truce, and for that he made them pay dear. After this he return'd to *Rome*, and had a Triumph. He brought with him 390,000 *Aſſes* [a] of braſs for the publick treaſury, without reckoning a conſiderable ſum which reſerved to build *a Temple* to *Fortune*. And he gave beſides to each private ſoldier of the Foot 102 pounds [b] of braſs, and twice that ſum to each Centurion and Horſeman; a ſmall preſent, but well received, and which the remembrance of *Papirius*'s parſimonious conduct made ſtill more agreeable; and by this means he became popular enough to prevail with the People to drop the proſecution, which the *Tribune Scantius* had begun againſt *Poſthumius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the laſt year.

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159th Conſulſhip. Ædem Fortis Fortunæ.

Livy, B. 10. c. 47.

§. V. IT was probably at this time that *Atilius*, the other *Conſul* of the laſt year, now *Prætor*, made a new law relating to Guardianſhips. The *Twelve Tables* had not provided for thoſe orphans, whoſe fathers died inteſtate, and who had no near relation to take upon him the guardianſhip of them. The *Atilian Law* ordained, that the *Prætor* and the *Tribunes of the People* ſhould by a plurality of voices aſſign ſuch Orphans a Guardian. At the ſame time the *Curule Ædiles* publiſhed an ordinance, that thoſe who had received crowns, as the rewards of their military exploits, might wear them at the publick *Games*; and that Palm-branches ſhould be put into the hands of the victors in thoſe *Games*.

Ulpian de Tutelis.

Livy, B. 10. c. 47.

[a] 1259*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Arbuthnot. [b] 6*s.* 7*d.* Arbuthnot.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. Q. Fabius Gurges *(ſon of* Fabius Maximus*) is choſen to the Conſulate, though his father had oppoſed his promotion. Through his ill conduct, he is ſhamefully vanquiſhed in a battle with the* Samnites. *Old* Fabius *ſerves under his ſon the remainder of the Campaign, which proves ſucceſsful.* §. II. *The* Romans, *to put a ſtop to the Plague, ſend Ambaſſadors to bring from* Epidaurus *the God* Æſculapius, *worſhipped there under the form of a Serpent.* §. III. *The God arrives. The haughty behaviour of* Poſthumius *one of the* Conſuls. *He ſucceeds in the war, but is puniſhed at his return to* Rome. §. IV. *The* Conſul CURIUS DENTATUS *(a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the* Samnites *to aſk* PEACE. §. V. *He reduces* SABINIA *to a ſtate of ſubjection to the* Republick. *He is accuſed of imbezzling ſome of the ſpoil taken from the enemy.* §. VI. *Colonies are ſent into the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the* Prætor *of* Rome, *three new Judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor occaſions a new* Seceſſion *of the People. The* Patricians *are obliged to make conceſſions.* Fabius Maximus *in his old age is named* Dictator, *to finiſh the accommodation. He ſoon after dies.*

§. I. PAPIRIUS held the *Comitia* for the election of *Conſuls.* The choice fell upon two men of ſmall abilities for war, *Q. Fabius Gurges*

Gurges (the ſon of *Fabius Maximus)* and *Junius Brutus Scæva.* It is undoubted, that *Fabius* the father oppoſed the promotion of his ſon; but it is very uncertain for what reaſon; whether, as *Valerius Maximus* thinks, from a Republican principle, and becauſe he thought it of pernicious example to have one family loaded with ſo many honours, he having himſelf been promoted to that dignity; or whether on account of ſome domeſtick quarrel, or whether becauſe he judged his ſon unqualified for ſo high a ſtation. *Rome* being at this time viſited with a Plague, which made terrible havock, this, together with the incapacity of the new *Conſuls*, encouraged the *Faliſci* to break their truce, and the *Samnites* to take arms again, and ſpread themſelves over *Campania.* It fell to *Brutus*'s lot to march into *Hetruria* againſt the *Faliſci.* The Republick, to ſupply his defects, appointed *Carvilius* to be his Lieutenant, and by his aſſiſtance the *Conſul* made a ſucceſsful expedition.

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160th Conſulſhip. Livy, B. 10. c. 47. Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1. Oroſius, B. 3. c. 22.

But on the other hand, *Fabius Gurges*, having all the fire of the *Fabii* without their uſual prudence, raſhly, and without drawing up his troops in order of battle, engaged with the *Samnites*, and loſt three thouſand men, he himſelf eſcaping only by the favour of the night. The account of the ill conduct of *Gurges* ſo exaſperated the public againſt him, that the Senate were going to remove him from the command of the army; but then the zeal of *Fabius Maximus* for the honour of his family was rouzed, and he undertook his ſon's cauſe. Without excuſing the precipitate

Eutrop. B. 2. Zonaras, B. 8. Liv. Epit. 11. Dio Coceianus in excerptis à Valeſio.

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cipitate conduct of the *Conſul*, he deſired the aſſembly to pardon it, in conſideration of the many victories which he himſelf had formerly obtained for the Republick. He repreſented to them, that his ſon's diſgrace had not been owing to a want of bravery, but to youthful imprudence, which time and experience might correct. And laſtly, he offer'd to go and ſerve under his ſon, and promiſed ſoon to repair the loſs which the State had ſuffer'd by his ſon's miſmanagement. The People accepted this offer, and were appeaſed.

160th Conſulſhip.

Fabius Maximus accompanied his ſon into the field againſt the *Samnites*, in quality of his Lieutenant, and not only aſſiſted him by his advice, but when in a battle, which was ſoon after fought, the *Conſul* following the impulſe of his courage, and eager to recover his honour, had indiſcreetly penetrated too far among the enemies, and was ſurrounded by them, reſcued him out of their hands by his perſonal bravery. So gallant an action, in a man of his years, animated the *Roman Legions* to exert themſelves with more than ordinary vigour, and they ſoon put the *Samnites* to the rout. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners; among the latter was their famous General *Pontius Herennius*, who had commanded them in this and the former battle.

Oroſ. B. 3. c. 22.

§. II. THE joy at *Rome* for ſo compleat a victory would have been much greater, if it had not been damp'd by the Plague, which ſtill continued to make dreadful devaſtation. In this diſtreſs the *Romans* had recourſe to the uſual reme-

dy, Superſtition. The *Sybilline* Books were conſulted, and it was there read, that to put a ſtop to the peſtilence, the God *Æſculapius*, adored under the form of a Serpent, muſt be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponneſus*. An Embaſſy was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe. Year of ROME CCCCLXIII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety.

§. III. THE time for the new Election drawing on, and the *Conſuls* being both in the field, a *Dictator* was named to hold the *Comitia*; but his nomination being found defective, the Government fell into an *Interregnum*; and then *Poſthumius* (the very ſame man who had ſo lately eſcaped a condemnation) holding the aſſembly, contrived to get himſelf elected * one of the new *Conſuls*. With *Poſthumius* was joined *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. 161ſt Conſulſhip. Liv. B. 10. c. 47. * A 3d time.

Poſthumius, now the third time *Conſul*, and as proud in office as he had been ambitious in procuring to himſelf the *Conſular* dignity, diſdained to draw lots with his *Plebeian* Collegue for their provinces. He inſiſted upon having the Command of the army in *Samnium*; and *Brutus* finding that his Collegue had a powerful party in the Senate, conſented to command in *Hetruria*, without waiting for a decree. Y. of R. 462. Bef. J. C. 290. 161ſt Conſulſhip. Suidas in Poſthum. D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio.

About this time the God *Æſculapius* [a], that is to

[a] *Æſculapius* * was a native of *Meſſene*, a city of *Peloponneſus*. As ſoon as he was born, his parents expoſed him in the

[a] The particulars concerning *Æſculapius* are taken from *D. Hal.* in excerp. à Valeſio. *Lactant.* ex Tarquitio, *Cicero* de nat. Deor. B. 3. *Plut.* in Quæſt. Rom. *Pauſanias*, *Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.* c. 22. *Ovid. Met.* B. 15. *Val. Max.* B. 1. c. 8. *Pliny*, B. 29. c. 1.

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to ſay, a tame Snake, which the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had bought of the Prieſts belonging to the Temple at *Epidaurus*, arrived at *Rome*, to the great joy of the People; and the Plague is ſaid to have ſoon after ceaſed.

161ſt Conſulſhip.

Hiſtory

the midſt of a foreſt, where he was found by ſome hunters. Theſe had compaſſion on him, and cauſed him to be ſuckled by a bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of inſtruction, he was committed to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him Phyſick, or, if you will, Surgery; for the two arts were then confounded. The diſciple ſoon excelled his maſter, and being grown an able Phyſician, ſettled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argia*, and practiſed his art there. It muſt be granted, that *Æſculapius* made ſome diſcoveries in the cure of diſeaſes and wounds. He is ſaid to have invented the *Probe*; to have firſt made uſe of *Bandages*; and to have been the firſt who invented Purges, and the art of drawing Teeth. And as he lived in an age wherein it was uſual to deify thoſe who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by any uſeful diſcoveries, the people were pleaſed to call him the ſon of *Apollo*, and to rank him among the Gods. After which he ſoon had a Temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; which was built upon an eminence without the city, becauſe the moſt airy and wholeſome ſituations are moſt ſuitable to the God of *Health*. There the Prieſts, who preſided over the worſhip of this new God, bred one of thoſe ſnakes, which are eaſily tamed, and taught to follow any perſons where they pleaſe, without any danger of being bit by them; and the ſilly vulgar honoured this Snake as the God himſelf. His uſual hole was under the feet of the fine ſtone ſtatue of *Æſculapius*, which the famous ſculptor *Thraſymedes* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was underſtood to prognoſticate the cure of the ſick. The Envoys of *Rome* were brought into this Temple, to which the love of life drew all *Greece*, and which gratitude for cures imagined to be there obtain'd, had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulnius* was at the head of the embaſſy: and it's probable the *Epidaurians* made

Year of ROME ccccl.xii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety.

Hiſtory ſays nothing of any exploits of *Brutus* in *Hetruria.* But young *Fabius*, who had been

161ſt Conſulſhip.

con-

made the *Romans* pay very dear for the relief they ſought; their reputation and intereſt being then very ſmall in *Greece.* Be that as it will, the *Epidaurians* granted their requeſt, and ſuffered them to carry away with them the important Snake. It is reported as a prodigy, that the Snake came out in ſight of the Ambaſſadors, whilſt they were attentively viewing the ſtatue of *Æſculapius:* and that he left the Temple of *Epidaurus* of his own accord, and winding his great body along, paſſed all through the city, and went directly to the port where the *Roman* ſhip was at anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the veſſel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulnius*'s cabbin, and curling himſelf into ſeveral circles, continued quietly there. An account which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we ſuppoſe (which might have been the caſe) that the maſter of the Snake, who had tam'd him, went before him to the ſhip. Beſides, this was not the firſt time that one of theſe Snakes had been taken out of the Temple of *Epidaurus.* The *Sicyonians* had already carried one from thence to their city, in a chariot; and an unknown woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted him thither. Thus the impoſtures of the *Greeks* furniſhed the nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æſculapius's*; and thus the *Romans*, among others, were bubbled by them.

The other adventures of the pretended *Æſculapius*, in his paſſage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the Hiſtorians and Poets. They relate, that the Ambaſſadors experienced the good effects of the God's preſence in their voyage, it being exceeding proſperous and happy. Nevertheleſs, the ſea became boiſterous towards the coaſt of *Italy*, and the violence of the winds forced the ſeamen to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Æſculapius.* The Snake had hitherto confin'd himſelf to *Ogulnius*'s cabbin; but here he eſcaped, and gliding along came to the court of the ſanctuary where he was worſhipped. This place was planted with Myrtles and Palm-

trees,

Year of ROME cccclxii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety.

continued in the command of the army in *Samnium* in quality of *Proconſul*, being aſſiſted by his

161ſt Conſulſhip.

trees, and the pretended *Æſculapius* got upon the largeſt of thoſe trees, and twiſted his long body round it. For three days it was much feared that the divine animal would continue there; all endeavours to bring him back to the ſhip proved vain. It availed nothing to offer him his uſual food; he continued three days twiſted round the Palm-tree. But at length he returned to the galley of his own accord. *Antium* was at no very great diſtance from the mouth of the *Tiber*; and up that river the ſnake was carried to *Rome*. The joy the *Romans* ſhewed at the arrival of this ſalutary God is not to be expreſſed. Altars were erected all along the ſhore; and incenſe and ſacrifices offered, even to profuſeneſs. While the citizens expected ſoon to receive the God within their walls, and were thinking to build him a temple there, he is ſaid to have choſen his own abode. In the midſt of the *Tiber*, over-againſt the walls of *Rome*, was an iſland, formed in the infancy of the Republick, by ſtraw, trunks of trees, ſand, and the rubbiſh of the city; and thither the Serpent retir'd, ſwimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the *Iſland of Æſculapius*; and a Temple was ſoon erected to him there, and enriched with numberleſs preſents. The Temple was built in the ſhape of a ſhip; the higher part of it reſembled the ſtern, and the lower part the prow. But whatever the Hiſtorians ſay of it, it is very uncertain whether the plague was not ſtopp'd before the Serpent arrived; and if we believe *Pliny*, who gave no credit to vulgar traditions, the *Romans* themſelves would not ſuffer this *Æſculapius*, who had been brought from beyond-ſea, to be placed within their walls. He ſays, they had an averſion to Phyſicians and their art, and deſpiſed even *Æſculapius* himſelf, the prince and head of Phyſicians. Nevertheleſs, the Temple of this God of Health was very much frequented by the Commonalty of *Rome*; the ſick came and paſſed the night in it; and imagination, or the ſtrength of nature, ſometimes wrought cures there, which were aſcribed to the power of the God. *C. & R.*

his father (who govern'd and directed all his motions, without letting him perceive it) had already reduced the Canton of the *Pentrini*, and was beſieging *Cominium* (an important Town, formerly taken and burnt by *Carvilius*, but ſince rebuilt by the *Samnites*) when *Poſthumius* prepared to enter *Samnium* with a new Conſular army. Before he left *Rome*, he employed a detachment of his troops in the ſervile work of grubbing up a foreſt in his own eſtate; and he proceeded in the ſame ſpirit of tyranny when he came into the field. He ſent orders to the *Proconſul* to deſiſt from the ſiege of *Cominium*, and to leave that enterpriſe to his conduct. Young *Fabius* had received his commiſſion from the Senate; and the *Fathers* ſupported his pretenſions, and commanded the *Conſul* to bend his forces another way; but *Poſthumius* bad the meſſenger tell the Senate, *That it was their duty to obey their* Conſul, *and not his to ſubmit to their commands.* He then marched ſtrait towards *Cominium*, reſolving to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his will. *Fabius Maximus* prevail'd with his ſon, for the ſake of the publick good, to give way to the imperious *Conſul.* And then *Poſthumius* having a clear ſtage, and being a man of courage and expedition, ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Cominium.* Thence he turn'd his arms againſt *Venuſia*, which he likewiſe took in a ſhort time. In the letter which he wrote to the Senate to inform them of his ſucceſs, he propoſed that a *Colony* might be ſent to the laſt-mention'd place, and his propoſal

Year of ROME CCCCLXII. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety.

161ſt Conſulſhip. Dio Coccеianus in excerptis à Valeſio. Livy, Epit. 11. D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Year of ROME cccclxii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety.

was approved; but the *Fathers*, who preferr'd Obedience to Valour, took occaſion from it to humble him. Inſtead of appointing him, agreeably to cuſtom, to be one of the founders of the new *Colony* in the City he had conquer'd, they named three others, and allowed him no ſhare in that honour; nay, to mortify him yet more, they decreed young *Fabius* a Triumph. *Pontius Herennius*, that famous *Samnite* General who ſurpriſed the *Roman Legions* in the *Caudine Forks*, and made them paſs under the Yoke, now followed the Chariot of the Triumphant Conqueror. (He was afterwards, by an inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, condemn'd to loſe his head.) But the moſt ſurpriſing ſight of all was old *Fabius* on horſeback in his ſon's train. He had formerly in his own Triumphs carried his ſon in the Chariot with him; and he was now overjoy'd to mingle in the croud, and make one of his attendants.

251ſt Conſulſhip.

Plut. in Fab. Cunct. Val. Max. B. 5. c. 7.

As for *Poſthumius*, when he found himſelf treated with ſo much contempt, and his rival ſo much honoured, he not only declaimed with paſſion againſt both Senate and People, but did all that was in his power to revenge himſelf. He would not give the leaſt part of the booty brought from the two conquered Cities into the publick Treaſury, but diſtributed it all among his ſoldiers, and then diſbanded them before his ſucceſſor could arrive. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that notwithſtanding theſe extravagant proceedings, and the oppoſition of the Senate, he obtained a Triumph by a decree

decree of the People; but this is highly improbable, ſince it appears by what followed ſoon after, that the People were no leſs exaſperated againſt him than the *Fathers*. For the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* and *Manius Curius Dentatus*, were no ſooner enter'd upon office, than he was brought to a trial before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His chief accuſation turn'd upon his having employed his ſoldiers in a ſlaviſh work for his own private profit; a crime which touch'd the People much more than his diſobedience to the Senate. They condemned him to pay a conſiderable fine; and his reputation continued for ſome time blaſted.

Year of ROME cccclxii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ninety.

161ſt Conſulſhip. D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Year of ROME ccccl xiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-nine.

§. IV. THE *Samnites* having loſt their brave General and able Governor *Pontius*, were no longer in a condition to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. *Curius Dentatus* laid waſte their country, took their towns, and, in ſhort, obliged them to ſue for peace. The Republick conſented to a treaty of alliance with them for the fourth time, and left the conditions of it to *Curius*[a].

162d Conſulſhip. Liv. Epit. 11. Eutrop. B. 2.

This *Conſul* was remarkable for living, without oſtentation, in that voluntary Poverty, which ſome Philoſophers have with great vanity cried

[a] It is uncertain what ſort of Government was in uſe among the *Samnites*; but it is moſt probable that they were divided into Cantons, and annually aſſembled a Diet, where reſolutions were taken for the publick good. In time of war they choſe a Head, who was inveſted with Sovereign Authority. It is ſaid, that the *Samnites* had one very ſingular cuſtom in relation to Marriages. Every year, all the marriageable young men and women were aſſembled before certain judges, who matched them according to their merit. *C. & R.*

Nico. Damaſ. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Year of ROME cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-nine.

up and recommended. The *Samnite* Deputies found him ſitting on a ſorry wooden ſeat near a fire, dreſſing his own dinner, which conſiſted only of ſome roots; and they offered him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of Money. *Curius* expreſſed his indignation by a diſdainful ſmile. "Without doubt, ſaid he, my indigence makes "you hope that you may corrupt me: But you "are miſtaken. I had rather be the com-"mander of rich men, than be rich myſelf. "Take away that metal, which men make uſe "of only to their deſtruction, and go tell your "nation, that they will find it as difficult to bribe "me, as to conquer me." A treaty being concluded upon ſuch conditions as *Curius* thought fit to preſcribe, he return'd to *Rome* to triumph. And never did the People expreſs more joy than upon this occaſion, being at length freed from the care and burthen of a dangerous war, which had laſted forty-nine years. The conqueror in the diſtribution of the conquered lands among thoſe *Romans* who had none of their own, prevailed to have no more than ſeven acres allotted to each man, and accepted no more himſelf, though a much larger portion was offer'd him. He ſaid, that, to preſerve the *Roman* frugality, it were to be wiſhed that no man had more land than was neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence.

162d Conſulſhip. Plutarch in Apoph. Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3. Plin. B. 19. c. 6.

Author de Viris Illuſtr. c. 33.

§. V. THE conqueſt of *Samnium* was followed by the reduction of the *Sabines* to a ſtate of ſubjection, who had been almoſt ever ſince the foundation of *Rome* upon the foot of allies, and had been govern'd by their own laws. They had

Plutarch in Apoph.

had fear'd that the ruin of the *Samnites* would affect their own liberty, and had therefore not only lent them aſſiſtance, but had ravaged a part of the *Roman* Territory. *Curius* intirely ſubdued them; but the *Romans*, in regard to old friendſhip, treated them gently and admitted them to *Roman Citizenſhip*, yet without the right of ſuffrage. For the conqueſt of *Sabinia*, *Curius* had a ſecond Triumph decreed him the ſame year; an honour which had never been granted to any of his predeceſſors in the Conſulate.

Year of ROME cccclxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-nine.

162d Conſulſhip. Florus, B. 1. c. 15. Liv. Epit. 11.

The eminent virtues of this Philoſophical Hero did not ſecure him from envy: There were not wanting thoſe to whom his reputation of diſintereſtedneſs gave offence, and they endeavoured to caſt a ſtain upon it. They accuſed him of having applied a part of the booty taken from the enemy to his private uſe. The accuſation being general, he was put to his oath; and then he confeſſed, that he had reſerved a little wooden oil-veſſel for making libations to the Gods, but proteſted that he had kept nothing more: He was believed; and the malice of his accuſers ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue. Before the expiration of his *Conſulſhip*, he led an army againſt the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Thurium*, the inhabitants of which had implored the protection of the *Romans*, and had gained *Ælius* (one of the *Tribunes*) to be their friend. This Town was ſituated near the Gulph of *Tarentum*.

Author de Viris Illuſtr. c. 33.

Plin. B. 34. c. 6.

§. VI. THE ſame *Comitia* which choſe *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cædicius Noctua* to be

Year of ROME cccclxiv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-eight.

Conſuls for the new year, appointed *Curius Dentatus* to carry on the war in *Lucania* in quality of *Proconſul.* His expedition prov'd ſucceſsful; and he thereby eſtabliſh'd the *Roman* domination through almoſt the whole extent of the country that reaches from the *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian* and *Sicilian* ſeas. The new *Conſuls* employ'd their year altogether in works of peace, and in ſending out *Colonies*; particularly to *Adria*, a maritime Town, which ſome ſay gave name to the *Adriatick* ſea; *Caſtrum* in *Picenum*, and *Sena*, another City on the *Adriatick* at the mouth of the *Seno* in the country of the *Senones*.

163d Conſulſhip.

Liv. Epit. 11.

Feſtus and Pomponius de Origine juris.

At this time the *Romans*, finding that the *Prætor* alone was not ſufficient to preſerve good order in the City in a time of peace, when malefactors always multiply, the People appointed three new Judges to try delinquents, and pronounce ſentence without appeal: But their power of puniſhing extended only to pecuniary fines; the People would not diveſt themſelves of the ſole power of life and death. Theſe new Magiſtrates were choſen annually in the *Comitia by Tribes.* The number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear arms, appear'd, by a *Cenſus* taken this year, to be two hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand.

And now, when all was quiet abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home, and the poor Debtors began again to murmur againſt the rich Uſurers. This ſpark of diſſenſion was blown up into a flame in the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Marcius* * *Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius* † *Arvina*, on the following occaſion. *T. Veturius*, one of thoſe unfor-

* A ſecond time.
† A ſecond time.

unfortunate *Conſuls*, who in the year of *Rome* 432 had been ſurpriſed in the *Caudine Forks*, died inſolvent. His ſon, a youth of great beauty, and virtuouſly educated, borrowed a conſiderable ſum of *C. Plotius*, his father's chief creditor, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. Being afterwards preſſed to pay, and having neither money nor credit, he was forced to ſubmit to ſlavery, and to work for his creditor in order to diſcharge the debt. *Plotius* conceived a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and treated him unmercifully for his virtuous reſiſtance. *Veturius* one day, when his body was all bloody with ſtripes, made his eſcape out of the houſe, got upon an eminence, ſhewed himſelf to the People, and publiſh'd the infamy of his tyrant. The People laid hold on the occaſion to decry the Uſurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which ſubjected thoſe to ſlavery, who could not pay. This law had been repeal'd before upon a like occaſion in the year 427, but the *Patricians* had got it renewed. As for *Plotius*, he was cited by the *Tribunes of the People* before the *Centuries*, and condemned to death.

Year of ROME cccclxiv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-eight.

163d Conſulſhip. Liv. Epit. 11. Zonar. Annal. B. 8. Y. of R. 465. Bef. J. C. 287.

164th Conſulſhip. D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 1.

In the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, the People kept no longer any meaſures with the *Patricians*. They inſiſted upon the abolition of the law before mentioned, and finding the rich obſtinate in oppoſing it, they made a *Seceſſion* upon the hill *Janiculus*, on the other ſide of the *Tiber*. The city being thus left deſtitute of artificers and labourers, and no proviſions being brought thither

Y. of R. 466. Bef. J. C. 286.

165th Conſulſhip. Liv. Epit. 11. S. Aug. de Civitate Dei, B. 3.

Year of ROME CCCCLXVI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-ſix.

365th Conſulſhip. Cic. in Orat. pro Planc. Livy, B. 8. c. 32. Varro apud Nonum. Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 16.

thither from the provinces (for the country people had likewiſe their complaints) the *Patricians* and rich *Citizens* found themſelves under a neceſſity of making conceſſions, and they named *Q. Hortenſius* Dictator to negotiate with the Separatiſts. The terms of reconciliation were the repeal (doubtleſs of the law in queſtion, and the ſtrict obſervation of two laws, made in the year 414. but to which the Nobility had paid no regard. 1. *That the Plebeſcita* [the Decrees made by the *Commons* at the requeſt of their *Tribunes*] *ſhould be obſerved by the* Patricians *as well as* Plebeians. 2. *That laws ſhould firſt paſs the* Senate, *and be brought afterwards to the* Comitia *to be there approved or rejected, and not* vice verſa. The complaint of the country people was, *That they could not get their cauſes heard by the Judges on Market-days when they came to* Rome, *but were obliged to leave their work, and return thither again.* This was rectified. But when theſe ſeveral articles of reconciliation were drawn up, and the ſtorm began to be appeaſed, *Hortenſius* died of a ſudden, before the expiration of his *Dictatorſhip.* It being neceſſary therefore to create another *Dictator*, to complete what he had begun, the *Conſuls* nominated the illuſtrious *Fabius*, who now, in an extreme old age, was Preſident or Prince of the Senate. He happily finiſhed the accommodation; and this was the laſt publick ſcene in which he appeared. He died ſoon after. The Republick had conſidered him in his life-time as a prodigy of *Roman* Valour, Prudence, and Virtue; and now upon his death the People contributed

Fragmentum Faſt. Capit.

Auth. de Viris Illuſtr. c. 32.

to

to the expence of his obſequies with ſo much emulation, that his ſon, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a publick entertainment to the whole City.

Year of ROME cccclxvi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-ſix.

Fabius, while *Dictator*, had (probably) preſided in the *Comitia*, when *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Ælius Pætus* were choſen *Conſuls*. Their year proved barren of remarkable events; but the Republick was never more happy than under their adminiſtration. The People having gained the higheſt pitch of their deſires, thought only of enjoying the ſweets of tranquillity. The balance of power lean'd now rather to their ſide; and the *Patricians* had no advantage over them, but in the great riches they had acquired, while they kept the aſcendant, and in that reſpect which naturally is paid to perſons of high birth.

165th Conſulſhip.

Year of ROME cccclxvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-five.

166th Conſulſhip.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. *The* Tarentines *endeavour privately to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt* Rome. *The* Gauls, *called* Senones, *give the* Roman *army a terrible overthrow.* Curius Dentatus *revenges this defeat.* §. II. *The next year the* Romans *vanquiſh in battle the* Senones, *the* Boii, *and the* Hetrurians. *The* Samnites *revolt. The year following, almoſt all* Italy *riſes in arms againſt the Republick.* Fabricius *defeats the confederate forces of the* Lucanians, Bruttians, *and* Samnites. §. III. *The* Tarentines *fall in an hoſtile manner upon a* Roman *fleet, which chances to come*

come into their port. The Romans *ſend to demand ſatisfaction. The* Tarentines *inſult the Ambaſſadors, and then turn their thoughts to an alliance with* Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus. [*A ſhort account of this Prince, and the ſtate of his affairs at this time.*] §. IV. *The* Senate *and people of* Rome *decree a war againſt the* Tarentines. *An army marches directly for* Tarentum. *The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on its approach. They reſolve to invite* Pyrrhus *to their aſſiſtance.* §. V. Pyrrhus *accepts the invitation, and ſends before him to* Tarentum *the famous* Cyneas, *his prime miniſter.*

Year of ROME cccclxvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-five.

§. I. ROME was now not only in perfect tranquillity at home, but in a flouriſhing condition with reſpect to her affairs abroad. The *Latines*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marſi*, and *Campanians* were all brought into ſubjection to her. The *Volſci* were no more a people. The terror of the *Roman* arms reached to *Apulia*, and kept it in awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand, and on the other *Umbria* and *Picenum*, quite up to the frontiers of the *Senones*, were all either obedient to the *Romans*, or awed by *Roman Colonies* near them. On the other ſide of the *Tiber* one part of *Hetruria* was ſubdued, and that which was more diſtant obſerved the truce which had been granted it. *Samnium*, in all appearance, was quieted; and the *Gauls*, both *Senones* and *Boii*, lived in peace with the Republick, always ready however to fight for thoſe who would employ them. Such was the State of *Rome*, when *C.*

266th Conſulſhip.

Claudius

Claudius Canina and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* enter'd upon the *Conſulſhip*. Nothing memorable happen'd during their adminiſtration; and the *Faſces* were tranſmitted to *C. Servilius Tucca* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. In their year the *Tarentines* (formerly a Colony of auſtere *Spartans*, but now ſunk into idleneſs and vice) growing jealous of the proſperity of the *Romans*, and fearing an interruption in their pleaſures, as much as the loſs of their liberty, employ'd all their *Grecian* ſubtlety to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt the Republick; and this without appearing to be concerned.

Year of ROME ccccixviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-four.

167th Conſulſhip. Y. of R. 469. Bef. J. C. 283.

At the ſame time the *Senones* prepared to beſiege *Aretium*, a City of *Hetruria*, about forty leagues from *Rome*, not far from the river *Arno*, and which was in truce with the Republick. The *Romans*, at the requeſt of the *Aretini*, raiſed an army to defend them; but before any act of hoſtility, they ſent a deputation to the *Senones*, to perſuade them to deſiſt from their deſign. Theſe proud *Gauls*, inſtead of liſtening to the mediation of the *Romans*, killed the Ambaſſadors, and then immediately brought their troops before *Aretium*. The *Conſul Cæcilius* haſten'd to the relief of the place, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himſelf was killed, with ſeven *Legionary Tribunes*, many of the nobles, and thirteen thouſand private men. Upon the news of this terrible defeat, *Curius Dentatus* (probably *Prætor* at this time) was diſpatched from *Rome*, at the head of ſome new levies to ſupply the *Conſul*'s place. But this able and experienced

168th Conſulſhip. Zonaras, B. 8.

Polyb. B. 2. c. 19.

Appian. apud Fulv. Urſinum. Liv. Epit. 12. Oroſ. B. 3. c. 22.

Polyb. B. 2. c. 19.

Year of ROME cccclxix. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-three.

perienced Commander, inſtead of attacking the army of the *Gauls*, fluſh'd with ſucceſs, or of attempting to ſuccour *Aretium*, marched along the confines of *Hetruria*, and enter'd the enemies country, where he took ample vengeance for the murder of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors. With fire and ſword he laid waſte and deſtroyed all before him, ſo that in a little time he reduced it to a vaſt deſert, in which there ſcarce remain any appearances of its having been cultivated or inhabited; all the men that were found were put to the ſword, and the women and children carried into ſlavery.

168th Conſulſhip. Dion. apud Fulv. Urſinum.

Y. of R. 470. Bef. J. C. 282.

§. II. In the mean time, and in the beginning of the adminiſtration of *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republick began to feel the effects of the ſecret negotiations of the *Tarentines*. The *Boii*, *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites* all declared againſt her at once, and ſhe had already the army of the *Senones* before *Aretium* to deal with. Theſe *Gauls*, to revenge the devaſtation made in their country, left the ſiege of that Town, and were advancing ſtrait to *Rome*, when *Domitius* met them in *Hetruria*, and gave them a total overthrow with great ſlaughter. After this, *Cornelius* came to a pitch'd battle with the united *Hetrurians* and *Boii*; the troops of the former were almoſt all ſlain, and thoſe of the latter, who eſcaped, being vanquiſhed a ſecond time, ſued for peace. As for the *Senones*, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any footſteps of them in *Italy*.

169th Conſulſhip.

Appian. apud Fulv. Urſinum. Polyb. B. 2. c. 26.

In

Year of ROME CCCCLXXI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-one.

In the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almoſt all *Italy*, through the ſecret intrigues of the *Tarentines*, roſe up in arms againſt the *Robbers*, as the *Romans* were then called. On one ſide the remains of the *Hetrurians* and *Boii*, on the other the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*, in conjunction with the *Samnites*, all conſpired together for the deſtruction of the imperious Republick. It fell to *Æmilius* to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius* to command in *Lucania*. The latter marched to the relief of *Thurium*, a city on the Gulph of *Tarentum*, and beſieged by the *Lucanians*, *Bruttians*, and *Samnites*. He defeated this confederate army, but found it a difficult enterpriſe to force their camp. The means by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. Whilſt he ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe what meaſures to take, a young man full of ſtrength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the Legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. Twenty-five thouſand of the enemy, with their General *Statilius*, were ſlain. After the victory the *Conſul* ordered the young man who had firſt mounted the rampart, to be ſought for, in

170th Conſulſhip. Pliny, B. 34. c. 6. Ammian. Mar. B. 24. c. 15. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 8.

Year of ROME cccclxxi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-one.

in order to reward him; and becauſe he was not to be found, the *Romans* preſently imagined, that it was the God *Mars* himſelf, and returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance, by publick *Supplications.*

270th Conſulſhip. Plor. B. 1. c. 18. Oroſ. B. 4. c. 1.

§. III. AS for the *Tarentines*, the real authors of this war, they had not yet openly declared againſt *Rome.* An accident at length made them throw off the maſk. *Valerius*, one of the *Maritime Duumvirs*, or Admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come with ten ſhips to the mouth of their port, while they were celebrating their Games in the Theatre, which look'd towards the harbour. The ſudden appearance of the *Roman* ſhips interrupted their diverſions; the *Tarentines* imagining that the *Romans* were come with hoſtile intentions, they all with one conſent ran down to the port, fell upon the fleet with the fury of mad men, ſunk one ſhip, and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the reſt ſold to the beſt bidder. Upon the news of this unexpected inſult, the Republick ſent a deputation to *Tarentum* to demand ſatisfaction. *Poſthumius Megellus*, who had been thrice *Conſul*, was at the head of the Embaſſy. He was admitted to an audience in the Theatre, where he harangued the aſſembly in *Greek.* The *Tarentines*, heated with wine, inſtead of liſtening to his diſcourſe with that ſerioufneſs which the importance of the matter required, burſt into loud laughter, or hiſſed him, whenever he heſitated, was incorrect in his expreſſion, or even pronounced a word with

D. Hal. in Legat.

with a foreign accent; but when he began to ſpeak of *Reparation of Wrongs*, they flew into rage, called him *Barbarian*, and, in a manner, drove him out of the aſſembly. Nor was this all: As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, a buffoon named *Philonides* coming up to him, urined upon his robe; a new ſource of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude; ſome of them even clapp'd their hands for extreme joy at the outrageous inſolence. *Poſthumius* turning about to the aſſembly, only ſhewed them the ſkirt of his garment ſo defiled; but when he found that this had no effect, but to increaſe the loudneſs of their contumelious mirth, *Laugh on*, TARENTINES, *laugh on, now while you may. The time is coming, when you will weep*; *yes*, TARENTINES, *you will long weep. It is not a* little *blood that muſt waſh and purify this garment.* Having thus ſpoken, he ſtrait withdrew, left the city, and embark'd for *Rome*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXI. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty-one.

170th Conſulſhip.

When the *Tarentines* came to themſelves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, never to be forgiven, and at the ſame time on the inability of their neighbours in *Italy* to defend them, they concluded it abſolutely neceſſary to look for ſuccours from beyond ſea; and they caſt their eyes on *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, who, for perſonal bravery and martial ſkill, was renown'd above all the *Grecian* Commanders of that time.

This Prince was deſcended from *Achilles*, by his ſon *Neoptolemus* (or *Pyrrhus*) who conquer'd *Epirus*, reigned there himſelf, and left the throne

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, p. 383. & ſeq.

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170th Conſulſhip.

to his poſterity. Being yet an infant at the breaſt, when his father *Æacides* was dethroned by his ſubjects, he was conveyed through variety of dangers into *Illyricum*, where *Glaucias*, the King of that country, took care of him, and educated him with his own children. When *Pyrrhus* had attained to 12 years of age, *Glaucias*, at the head of a great army, enter'd *Epirus*, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors; but when he was 17 years old, the *Epirots* rebelling again, drove him from his kingdom, and forced him to ſeek refuge in the dominions of *Demetrius*, the huſband of his ſiſter *Deidamia*. *Demetrius* was then maſter of *Greece* and a great part of *Aſia*. *Pyrrhus* ſerved under him in his wars againſt *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and gained great applauſe by his courage and conduct at the famous battle of *Ipſus*, in *Phrygia*, where ſo many Kings were preſent; and when a peace was made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus* was ſent to *Ægypt*, as one of the hoſtages to ſecure the performance of the Treaty. Here he behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence and addreſs, as to gain univerſal eſteem and admiration; and he made his court ſo ſucceſsfully to *Berenice*, the favourite Queen, that ſhe gave him in marriage *Antigone*, her daughter by a former huſband. Having by this alliance engaged *Ptolomy* to aſſiſt him with money and troops, he recovered his own Kingdom; after which he made himſelf maſter of *Macedon*; but, being diſpoſſeſſed of it again by *Lyſimachus*, retired into *Epirus*, and was at this time in peace with all the neighbouring States. However, as he

he naturally loved action, and the buſtle and hurry of war, the ambaſſadors whom the *Tarentines* ſent to him (perhaps only to try his pulſe, and obſerve the ſtate of his affairs) found him in a diſpoſition to hearken to any propoſals, which would furniſh him with employment worthy of his ambition.

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170th Conſulſhip.

§. IV. THE *Tarentines*, to amuſe the *Romans* till it could be known what might be expected from *Pyrrhus*, beſieged *Thurium*, defended by a *Roman* Garriſon, and took it. This news came to *Rome* ſoon after the return of *Poſthumius*, and the other ambaſſadors who had been ſo ill treated at *Tarentum*. The Republick had juſt raiſed *L. Æmilius Barbula* and *Q. Marcius Philippus* to the *Conſulate*. Theſe Magiſtrates having aſſembled the Conſcript Fathers, repreſented to them on one hand the ſhameful indignity offered to their ambaſſadors, which required vengeance; and, on the other, the danger of engaging in a new war, when the Republick had already ſo many enemies to contend with: For the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* were ſtill in arms, and the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians* grown more confident, ſince the taking of *Thurium*. To the neceſſity of chaſtiſing the *Tarentines*, the Hoſtilities they had committed againſt the Republick, and the inſult they had offered to *Poſthumius*, whoſe robe was produced in the aſſembly, left no room for deliberation upon that point; the only queſtion was concerning the proper time; and this the Fathers debated from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſet for ſeveral days together, being

Appian.

Y. of R. ccccLxxii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred eighty.

171ſt Conſulſhip.

D. Hal. in Legation.

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divided in opinion. Some were for deferring the war with the *Tarentines*, till the intermediate Provinces ſhould be ſubdued; others for beginning it immediately. The queſtion being put to the vote, the latter opinion prevail'd by a majority of voices; and the Senate's Decree was confirmed by the people. Hereupon, *Æmilius*, who had intended to make the campaign in *Samnium*, received orders to lay aſide that Expedition, and march directly to *Tarentum*.

171ſt Conſulſhip. Zon. B. 8.

The approach of the *Romans* made the *Tarentines* carry on their deliberations with a little more ſerioufneſs than formerly; and when the *Conſul* ſent once again to demand ſatisfaction, before he began Hoſtilities, the oldeſt and richeſt declared for peace: but the populace who had little to loſe inſiſted upon a war; and what put an end to the debate was a ſpeech of one of the common citizens, who renewed the propoſal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, a motion highly applauded by the multitude. The wiſer part of the citizens finding themſelves overborne by numbers came no more to the aſſemblies. Only, the day that a publick Decree was to paſs for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the Theatre, one *Meton*, a ſober worthy citizen, with a withered garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, (as was the manner of drunken debauchees) and accompanied by a woman playing on a flute, came dancing into the midſt of the aſſembly. This ſilly ſight was ſufficient to divert the *Tarentines* from their moſt important deliberations. They made a Ring,

Diod. in Eclog. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, p. 390.

a Ring, and called out to *Meton* to ſing, and to the woman to play; but when, expecting to be entertained with a ſong, they were all ſilent, *Meton* aſſuming an air of great ſeriouſneſs, "You "do well, *Tarentines*, not to hinder thoſe from "diverting themſelves who are diſpoſed to "mirth; and if you are wiſe you will yourſelves "make advantage of the preſent liberty you en-"joy to do the ſame. When *Pyrrhus* comes, "you muſt change your way of life; your mirth "and joy will be at an end." Theſe words made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had ſpoken well: but thoſe who had ſome reaſon to fear that they ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans* in caſe of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had ſaid, reviled the aſſembly for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo mocked and affronted, and crowding together, they thruſt *Meton* out of the Theatre. After this the decree was paſſed, and ambaſſadors were ſent into *Epirus*, not only from the *Tarentines*, but from all the *Italick Greeks*, with magnificent preſents for the King, and with inſtructions to ſay, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; that as for troops, they could themſelves furniſh a numerous army, 20000 horſe, and 350000 foot, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*.

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171ſt Conſulſhip.

As ſoon as the news came to the *Roman* camp, that a deputation to *Pyrrhus* was decreed, *Æmilius* ſtraight began Hoſtilities, burnt and deſtroyed all before him, and forced the *Tarentines* in the field to take refuge within their walls. How-

Oroſ. B 4. c. 1. Zon. B. 8.

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ever not to drive them to deſpair, and to induce them to lay aſide the deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he uſed ſome moderation, and ſent back the priſoners he had taken. Theſe highly extoll'd the generoſity of the *Conſul*; inſomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all in general began to repent of their rejecting a peace, and ſending for *Pyrrhus*. This was evident by their chuſing *Agis*, a friend of the *Romans*, to be their General, and the Governor of the City.

271ſt Conſulſhip.

§. V. IN the mean while the *Tarentine* ambaſſadors, purſuant to the powers they had received, made an abſolute treaty with the King of *Epirus*. He was very ready to accept the invitation into *Italy*, his head being turned with the exploits of *Alexander the Great* in the Eaſt, which he thought to imitate by mighty conqueſts in the Weſt.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, p. 391.

There was then at the court of *Epirus* a *Theſſalian*, named *Cyneas*, a man of ſound underſtanding, and who had been a Diſciple of *Demoſthenes*. He was thought to approach nearer than any other orator of this time to the vehement and forcible eloquence of that great maſter. *Pyrrhus* uſually employed him, as his ambaſſador to thoſe cities with whom he had any affair to tranſact, and the able miniſter ſucceeded ſo well in theſe negotiations, that the King was wont to ſay, *He had made more conqueſts by the tongue of* Cyneas, *than by his own ſword.* And for this reaſon he not only held him in the higheſt eſteem, but loaded

loaded him with honours, making him his chief miniſter and favourite.

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171ſt Conſulſhip.

Cyneas perceiving that *Pyrrhus* was eagerly bent to paſs into *Italy*, and finding him one day at leiſure, and in a humour for free converſation, thus began: *The* ROMANS, SIR, *are reported to be great warriors, and to rule over many brave and warlike nations. Should God grant us, nevertheleſs, to vanquiſh them, what uſe ſhall we make of our victory?*——*The thing ſpeaks of itſelf*, anſwered Pyrrhus; *the* Romans *once conquered, there is no city*, Barbarian *or* Greek *in* Italy, *that will dare to reſiſt us. We ſhall be immediately maſters of that whole country; whoſe extent, wealth, and power, no body is better apprized of than yourſelf.*——Cyneas, (after a ſhort ſilence) *And when we have conquered* Italy, *What are we to do next?*——Pyrrhus (not yet perceiving his drift) *Next? Why, there is* Sicily *juſt by. She opens her arms to receive us, a rich and populous Iſland, and eaſily ſubdued; for, ſince the death of* Agathocles, *the cities are all in confuſion and anarchy.*——*What you ſay*, replied Cyneas, *ſeems very probable indeed. But is the conqueſt of* Sicily *to put an end to our expeditions?*——*No certainly*, cried the King; *theſe ſucceſſes will be only preludes to greater enterpriſes. Who, in ſuch a caſe, could forbear paſſing into* Africk, *and to* Carthage? *It is but a ſtep thither. And when we have ſubdued theſe, what think you? Will any of thoſe enemies, who now give us uneaſineſs, have once the boldneſs to withſtand our arms? We ſhall then eaſily recover* Macedon, *and not only ſo, but in a little time be maſters of all* Greece.

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——— *Very true, ſaid* Cyneas, *Nothing can be clearer: But when we have compleated all theſe Conqueſts, What ſhall we do* then?——Pyrrhus ſmiling, *Do* then? *Why, then we'll live at our eaſe, my Good Friend, and drink, and feaſt, and ſpend our days in agreeable converſation.* ——— *Ah, Sir,* replied the Philoſopher, *What hinders you from immediately poſſeſſing that happineſs which you propoſe to purchaſe at the expence of ſo much danger?* *

Theſe

* *Monſieur* Paſchal, *in his diſcourſe of the* Miſery of Man, *has a much admired reflection on this advice of* CYNEAS *to* PYRRHUS.

THERE is nothing more capable of letting us into the knowledge of human miſery, than an inquiry after the real cauſe of that perpetual hurry and confuſion, in which we paſs our lives.

The ſoul is ſent into the body, to be the ſojourner of a few days. She knows that this is but a ſtop, till ſhe may embark for eternity; and that a ſmall ſpace is allowed her to prepare for the voyage. The main part of this ſpace is raviſhed from her by the neceſſities of nature; and but a ſlender pittance left to her own diſpoſal: And yet this moment which remains, does ſo ſtrangely oppreſs and perplex her, that ſhe only ſtudies how to loſe it: She feels an intolerable burthen, in being obliged to live with herſelf, and think of herſelf; and therefore, her principal care is to forget herſelf; and to let this ſhort and precious moment paſs away without reflection, by amuſing herſelf with things which prevent her notice of its ſpeed.

This is the ground of all the tumultuary buſineſs, of all the trifling diverſions amongſt men; in which our general aim is to make the time paſs off our hands without feeling it, or rather without feeling ourſelves; and, by getting rid of this ſmall portion of life, to avoid that inward diſguſt and bitterneſs,

Theſe words rather vex'd the King, than diverted him from his deſign; for he could not part with the pleaſing hopes he had entertained.

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To

bitterneſs, which we ſhould not fail to meet with, if we found leiſure to deſcend into our own breaſts. For 'tis undeniably certain, that the ſoul of man is here incapable of reſt and ſatisfaction. And this obliges her to expand herſelf every way, and to ſeek how ſhe may loſe the thoughts of her own proper being in a ſettled application to the things about her. Her very happineſs conſiſts in this forgetfulneſs: and to make her exquiſitely miſerable, nothing more is required but the engaging her to look into herſelf, and to dwell at home.

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WE charge Perſons from their very infancy with the care of their own fortunes and honours, and no leſs of the eſtates and dignities belonging to their kindred and friends. We burthen them with the ſtudy of languages, of exerciſes, and of arts. We enter them in buſineſs, and perſuade them that they can never be truly bleſſed, unleſs by their induſtry and caution they in ſome meaſure ſecure the intereſt and glory of themſelves, their families, and their dependents; and that unavoidable unhappineſs is entailed upon the failure of any one particular in this kind. Thus we teach them to wear out their ſtrength, and to rob themſelves of their reſt. A ſtrange method (you'll ſay) of making them happy! What could be done with more effect towards the inſuring them in miſery? Would you know what? Why, only to releaſe them from theſe cares, and to take off theſe burthens. For then their eyes and their thoughts muſt be turned inward, and that is the only hardſhip which they eſteem inſupportable. Hence if they gain any relaxation from their labours, we find them eager to throw it away upon ſome ſport or diverſion, which takes up their whole activity, and pleaſantly robs them of themſelves.

'Tis for this reaſon, that when I have ſet myſelf to conſider the various agitations of human life, the toil and danger, to which we expoſe ourſelves in the court, in the camp,

in

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To conceal his deſign of making himſelf maſter of *Tarentum*, as well as of the reſt of *Italy*, he

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in the purſuits of ambition, which give birth to ſo much paſſion and contention, to ſo many deſperate and fatal adventures, I have often ſaid that the univerſal cauſe of men's misfortunes was their not being able to live quietly in a chamber. A perſon who has enough for the uſes of this world, did he know the art of dwelling with himſelf, would never quit that repoſe and ſecurity for a voyage or a ſiege; nor would take ſo much pains to hazard his life, had he no other aim than barely to live.

But upon ſtricter examination I found, that this averſion to home, this roving and reſtleſs diſpoſition proceeded from a cauſe, no leſs powerful than univerſal; from the native unhappineſs of our frail and mortal ſtate which is incapable of all comfort, if we have nothing to divert our thoughts and to call us out of ourſelves.

I ſpeak of thoſe alone who ſurvey their own nature, without the views of faith and religion. 'Tis indeed one of the miracles of Chriſtianity, that by reconciling man to God, it reſtores him to his own good opinion; that it makes him able to bear the ſight of himſelf; and in ſome caſes renders ſolitude and ſilence more agreeable, than all the intercourſe and action of mankind. Nor is it by fixing man in his own perſon, that it produceth theſe wonderful effects; 'tis by carrying him to God, and by ſupporting him under the ſenſe of his miſeries, with the hopes of an aſſured and compleat deliverance in a better life,

But for thoſe who do not act above the principles of mere nature, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould without falling into an incurable chagrine and diſcontent, undergo the lingering torment of leiſure. Man who loves nothing but his own perſon, hates nothing ſo much as to be confined to his own converſation. He ſeeks nothing but himſelf, and yet flies and avoids nothing more than himſelf; becauſe when he is obliged to look within he does not ſee himſelf ſuch as he could wiſh: diſcovering only a hidden ſtore of inevitable miſeries,

he artfully inſerted a clauſe in the treaty with his allies, *That when he had delivered them from their dangers,*

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ſeries, and a mighty *void* of all real and ſolid good, which 'tis beyond his ability to repleniſh.

Let a man chuſe his own condition, let him embelliſh it with all the goods and all the ſatisfactions he can poſſeſs or deſire; yet, if in the midſt of this glory and pride he is without buſineſs, and without diverſion, and has time to contemplate on his fortunes, his ſpirits muſt unavoidably ſink beneath the languiſhing felicity. He will of neceſſity torment himſelf with the proſpect of what's to come; and he that boaſted to have brought home all the ingredients of happineſs, muſt again be ſent abroad, or condemned to domeſtick miſery.

172ſt Conſulſhip.

IS *Majeſty* itſelf ſo truly great, and ſufficient, as to ſupport thoſe whom it adorns and encircles, under the bare thought of their own grandeur? Is it neceſſary that this thought ſhould be here likewiſe diverted, as in the common herd of men? A vulgar perſon will be abundantly happy, if he may eaſe himſelf of his ſecret troubles, by applying all his care to excel in the perfection of dancing. But dare we ſay this of a king? Or, will he be more charm'd with ſo vain and petty amuſements, than with the contemplation of his royal dignity and eſtate? What nobler, what more ſublime object than himſelf, to engage and to ſatisfy his ſpirit? Might it not ſeem an envious leſſening of his content, to interrupt his princely thought, with the care of meaſuring his ſteps by an air of muſick, or of exactly ordering a *ball*, inſtead of leaving him to ſurvey the glories of his throne, and to rejoice in the excellence of his power? Let us preſume to make the experiment: Let us ſuppoſe a prince in ſolitude, without any entertainment of ſenſe, any engagement of mind, any relief of converſation; and we ſhall find that a prince with his eyes upon himſelf, is a man full of miſeries, and who feels them with as quick and piercing a reſentment as the loweſt among his ſlaves. And therefore, it has been a ſtanding maxim, to baniſh theſe intruding and importunate reflections from court, and to keep about the *Royal Perſon*

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dangers, he ſhould not be hindered from returning to Epirus. And to ſecure their fidelity, he detained ſom

Perſon thoſe who ſhall conſtantly purvey for the amuſement of their maſter, by laying a train of divertiſements to ſucceed after buſineſs, and by watching his hours of leiſure, to pour in immediately a freſh ſupply of mirth and ſport; that no vacancy may be left, in life that is, the court abounds with men, who have a wonderful activity in taking care that *His Majeſty* ſhall not be alone, well knowing that ſolitude is but another name for miſery, and that the ſupreme pitch of worldly greatneſs is too nice and weak, to bear the examination of a thought.

371ſt Conſulſhip.

—WHENCE comes it to paſs, that men are tranſported to ſuch a degree with gaming, hunting, or other diverſions, which ſeem to have taken an abſolute poſſeſſion of their ſouls? not becauſe there is any real and intrinſick good to be obtained by theſe purſuits; not becauſe they imagine that true happineſs is to be found in the money which they win at play, or in the beaſt which they run down in the chace: For ſhould you preſent them beforehand with both theſe, to ſave their trouble, they would be unanimous in rejecting the propoſal. 'Tis not the gentle and eaſy part which they are fond of, ſuch as may give them leiſure and ſpace for thought; but 'tis the heat and the hurry, which divert them from the mortification of thinking.

—A MAN, that by gaming every day for ſome little ſtake, paſſeth away his life without uneaſineſs or melancholy, would yet be render'd unhappy, ſhould you give him every morning the ſum which he could poſſibly win all day, upon condition to forbear. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that 'tis the amuſement of the play which he ſeeks, and not the gain. Yet if he plays for nothing, his gaiety is over, and the ſpleen recovers full poſſeſſion. Bare amuſement, therefore, is not what he propoſeth; a languiſhing amuſement, without heat or paſſion, would but diſpirit and fatigue him: He muſt be allowed to raiſe and chafe himſelf, by propoſing a happineſs in the gaining of that which he would deſpiſe, if given him not

ſome of their ambaſſadors under pretence of wanting their aſſiſtance. After theſe precautions, he ſent

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not to venture, and by creating a fictitious object, which ſhall excite and employ his deſire, his anger, his hope, and his fear.

—WE have ſeen the utmoſt that human invention can do, in projecting for human happineſs. Thoſe who content themſelves barely with demonſtrating the vanity and littleneſs of common diverſions, are indeed acquainted with one part of our miſeries; for a conſiderable part it is to be thus capable of taking pleaſure in things ſo baſe and inſignificant. But they apprehend not the cauſe and principle which renders theſe miſeries even neceſſary to us, ſo long as we remain uncured of that inward and natural infirmity of not being able to bear the ſight of our own condition. The hare which men buy in the market cannot ſcreen them from this view; but the field and the chace afford an approved relief. And therefore when we reproach them with their low and ignoble aim, and obſerve to them how little ſatisfaction there is in that which they follow with ſo much contention and ardour, did they anſwer upon mature judgment, they would acknowledge the equity of our cenſure, and would ingenuouſly declare, that they propoſed nothing in theſe purſuits but the bare violence of the motion, ſuch as might keep them ſtrangers to the ſecrets of their ſoul; and that therefore they made choice of objects, which, how worthleſs ſoever in reality, were yet of an engaging and attractive nature, and able to engroſs the activity of all their powers. And the reaſon why they don't anſwer in this manner, is the want of this acquaintance with their own boſom. A gentleman believes with all ſincerity that there's ſomewhat great and noble in Hunting, and will be ſure to tell you, that 'tis a Royal Sport. You may hear the like defence and encomium of any other exerciſe or employment, which men affect or purſue. They imagine that there muſt needs be ſomewhat real and ſolid in the objects themſelves. They are perſuaded, that could they but gain ſuch a point, they ſhould then repoſe themſelves with content and pleaſure; and are under an inſenſibility

171ſt Conſulſhip. Zonaras, B. 8. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

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ſent away *Cyneas* with three thouſand men to *Tarentum*. This eloquent miniſter ſoon found means

271ſt Conſulſhip.

ſenſibility of the inſatiable nature of this deſire. They believe themſelves to be heartily engaged in the attainment of reſt, while they are indeed employed in nothing elſe but the ſearch of continual and ſucceſſive drudgery.

Men have a ſecret inſtinct, prompting them to ſeek employment or recreation; which proceeds from no other cauſe but the ſenſe of their inward pain, and never-ceaſing torment. They have another ſecret inſtinct, a relique of their primitive nature, which aſſures them, that the ſum of their happineſs conſiſts in eaſe and repoſe. And upon theſe two oppoſite inſtincts they form one confuſed deſign, lurking in the receſſes of their ſoul, which engages them to proſecute the latter by the intervention of the former, and conſtantly to perſuade themſelves, that the ſatisfaction they have hitherto wanted will infallibly attend them, if by ſurmounting certain difficulties, which they now look in the face, they may open a ſafe paſſage to peace and tranquillity.

Thus our life runs out. We ſeek reſt, by encountering ſuch particular impediments, which if we are able to remove, the conſequence is, that the reſt which we have obtained becomes itſelf a grievance. For we are ruminating every moment either on the miſeries we feel, or on thoſe we fear. And even when we ſeem on all ſides to be placed under ſhelter, the affections, which are ſo naturally rooted in us, fail not to regret their loſt dominion, and to diffuſe their melancholick poiſon through the ſoul.

AND therefore when *Cyneas* ſo gravely admoniſhed *Pyrrhus* who propoſed to enjoy himſelf with his friends, after he ſhould have conquered a good part of the world, that he would do much better to anticipate his own happineſs, by taking immediate poſſeſſion of this eaſe and quiet, without purſuing it through ſo much fatigue: The counſel he gave was indeed full of difficulty, and ſcarce more rational than the project of that young ambitious Prince. Both the one and the other opinion ſuppoſed that which is falſe, that a man can reſt ſatisfied with himſelf and his preſent poſſeſſions, without

means to depoſe *Agis* from the Government, and to get poſſeſſion of the Citadel.

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In the mean time *Æmilius*, the *Roman Conſul*, finding that there was no poſſibility of attempting any thing with ſucceſs againſt *Tarentum* this campaign, reſolved to march his army into winter quarters in *Apulia*. Being obliged to paſs through certain defiles, ſtraitened by the ſea on one ſide, and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* from great numbers of barks fraught with *Baliſtæ* (Engines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt weight) and from the hills which they had covered with archers and ſlingers; nevertheleſs by placing, between him and the enemy, his *Tarentine* priſoners, whom they were unwilling to hurt, he preſerved his Legions from ſuffering any conſiderable loſs. Having quarter'd his troops, he himſelf repaired to *Rome*, where his collegue *Marcius* had a Triumph for ſome conqueſts he had made in *Hetruria*.

171ſt Conſulſhip. Zonaras B. 8.

Faſt. Capit.

CHAP.

out filling up the void ſpace in his heart with imaginary expectations. *Pyrrhus* muſt inevitably have been unhappy, either without or with the conqueſt of the world; and perhaps that ſoft and peaceful life which his miniſter adviſed him to embrace was leſs capable of giving him ſatisfaction, than the heat and tumult of ſo many expeditions, and ſo many battles, which he was then forming and fighting in his mind. *See* Penſees de Paſchal c. 26. *as tranſlated by* Mr. Baſil Kennet.

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. Pyrrhus (whoſe character is given) *being arrived at* Tarentum *takes meaſures to turn the* Tarentines *from the purſuit of* Pleaſures, *to which they are intirely addicted. The villainous behaviour of a Legion of* Campanian *Soldiers, which had been ſent by the* Roman *Republick to garriſon* Rhegium *at the requeſt of the inhabitants.* §. II. Pyrrhus *ſends a letter to the* Conſul Lævinus, *requiring him to ſubmit the quarrel between* Rome *and* Tarentum *to his arbitration.* Lævinus, *in anſwer, returns a defiance. The* Romans *force* Pyrrhus *to a battle.* §. III. *The King, tho' victorious, declines a ſecond battle with* Lævinus, *and returns to* Tarentum. § IV. *His converſation with* Fabricius, *ſent from* Rome *to treat with him concerning the ranſom of Priſoners. The King ſends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of Peace. The Senate moved chiefly by a warm ſpeech of* Appius Claudius *(now blind) unanimouſly refuſe to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in* Italy.

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273d Conſulſhip.

§. I. THE *Conſuls* for the new year were *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *Tib. Coruncanius*, the latter not a *Roman* by birth, but raiſed to the Conſulate purely for his merit. He was of *Cumerium*, one of the *Roman Municipia* in *Latium.* It fell to him by lot to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to his Collegue to conduct that againſt

againſt the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of his own Troops in quality of *Proconſul*, and was ordered to march againſt the *Salentines* (in *Iapygia*,) who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The preſent exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to inliſt the *Proletarii*. Theſe (as has been formerly obſerved) were the meaneſt of the People, and eſteemed not capable of doing the State any ſervice, except that of peopling the city; hitherto they had never been ſuffer'd to bear arms: A wiſe part of *Roman* Policy, to make it an ignominy to be excluded from ſerving their country in war.

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172d Conſulſhip. Tab. Claud. Cæſar. apud Lugdunenſes. Oroſ. B. 4. c. 1.

Pyrrhus was now arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck. The *Tarentines*, ſoon after the arrival of *Cyneas*, had ſent to the King a great number of Galleys, flat-bottom Veſſels, and other Tranſports, whereon to embark his forces; and he had ſail'd from *Epirus* with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horſe, 20000 heavy-arm'd Foot, 200 Archers, and 500 Slingers. When he was got out to ſea, the wind riſing ſuddenly at North, and blowing hard, he was driven out of his courſe. Nevertheleſs, by the great ſkill and diligence of the pilots and ſeamen, the King's ſhip bore with the land, and kept the *Italian* coaſt; but the reſt of the fleet could not get up; ſome of the ſhips were driven into the *Lybian* and *Sicilian* ſeas; others, not being able to double the Cape of *Iapygia*, and a very boiſterous ſea throwing them in the night upon a rocky ſhore, they all ſuffered great damage. The Admiral, by her ſtrength and bulk, reſiſted

Juſtin. B. 18. c. 1. Zonar. B. 8. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, 392.

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the violence of the weather; but the wind coming about, and blowing directly in her teeth from the ſhore, and the veſſel keeping up her head againſt it, ſhe was in danger of opening at every ſhock ſhe ſuſtained from the huge billows that broke over her. On the other hand to be driven off again to ſea in a raging tempeſt, and when the wind was continually ſhifting about, ſeemed the greateſt of all evils. In this extremity, the veſſel not being far from land, *Pyrrhus* without heſitation threw himſelf into the ſea. His friends and guards inſtantly follow'd him, ſtriving with emulation to aſſiſt and ſave him, which the darkneſs of the night, and the impetuoſity of the waves, that were repelled with a roaring noiſe from the ſhore, made extremely difficult. However by day-break, the wind being then quite laid, he got aſhore, much fatigued and weakened in body, but with undaunted courage, and a ſtrength of mind ſuperior to the moſt adverſe fortune. The *Meſſapians*, upon whoſe coaſt the King was caſt, haſtened to give him all the aſſiſtance in their power, and they alſo went out to meet and ſuccour ſome of his veſſels which were not far off, and in which were found a few Horſe, two Elephants, and about 2000 Foot. *Pyrrhus* having drawn theſe together, marched with them directly towards *Tarentum*. *Cyneas*, upon the news of the King's approach, led out his troops to meet him, and conducted him into the city, where he was received with the acclamations of the People.

172d Conſulſhip.

PYRRHUS,

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PYRRHUS (as we learn from *Plutarch*) had in his countenance a Majeſty that was rather terrible than auguſt. In a day of battle he was thought to reſemble *Alexander* in look, agility, impetuoſity, and ſtrength of arm. His conſummate knowledge in the art of war appeared even from the books he wrote upon that ſubject. *Antigonus* being aſk'd, *Who was the greateſt Captain (of that time)* anſwer'd, PYRRHUS, *if he lives to be old:* But *Hannibal* afterwards, ſpeaking of great Commanders in general, gave *Pyrrhus* the firſt * place in the whole liſt. War was indeed his only ſtudy, and the only ſcience he thought worthy of a Prince. Nevertheleſs he had a great ſhare of humanity in his natural temper, was affable and familiar to his friends, not eaſily provoked to anger, and the moſt ardent of all men living to requite obligations. For which reaſon when *Æropus* died, who had done him important ſervices, he could not bear it with any moderation: *Not becauſe his friend had paid the indiſpenſable tribute to nature, (to die,* he ſaid, *was common to all) but becauſe he himſelf, by delays, had loſt the opportunity of requiting the kindneſſes he had received from him:* For, *as* PLUTARCH *adds*, tho' money-debts may be diſcharged by payment to the heirs of the creditor when he is dead, a debt of kindneſs can never be ſatisfied but by a return of kindneſs to the friend himſelf: and, if he dies unrequited, it will always be a pungent grief to the perſon obliged, if he have a good and honeſt heart.

172d Conſulſhip. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 387.

* *Plutarch*, in his life of *Flaminius*, makes *Hannibal* give *Alexander* the firſt place, and *Pyrrhus* the ſecond.

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His chief faults were boundleſs ambition, and a ſtrange inconſtancy in the purſuit of its objects. Fond of a new enterpriſe, he was always ready to quit it how ſucceſsfully ſoever begun, the moment that a newer preſented itſelf to his imagination. Whatever, *ſays* PLUTARCH, he acquired by his exploits, he loſt by his vain hopes; his impatience to purſue what he had not yet attained would not let him ſecure what he had already won; which made *Antigonus* compare him to a man at Dice, who has admirable fortune, but plays ill.

172d Conſulſhip. In Pyrrh. p. 400.

Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 392.

While *Pyrrhus* was waiting for the arrival of his ſcatter'd forces, he obſerved the diſpoſitions of the *Tarentines*, and was ſurpriſed to ſee how their minds were intirely bent to pleaſures, in which they thought to indulge themſelves, as uſual, while he and his *Epirots* were to fight in their defence. To remedy this miſchief, which muſt otherwiſe naturally end in the ruin of themſelves and their defenders, he, as ſoon as his troops had joined him, ſhut up the publick gardens and walks, where the inhabitants uſed to meet to talk of news and politicks; he forbad publick feaſting, plays, and maſquerades, and incorporated the beſt-bodied men of the people in his *Phalanxes*. The effeminate *Tarentines* groan'd under theſe wholſome regulations, in the execution of which the King was very rigorous. They found they had got a Maſter inſtead of an Ally; many of them rather, than endure ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, withdrew from the city, while others expreſſed their diſcontent by ſecret murmurs

murs and loud complaints. *Pyrrhus* had his ſpies in the city, who inſinuated themſelves into all companies, and brought him an account of the diſcourſes of the malecontents. One day ſome young debauchees, heated with wine, gave their tongues an unbounded liberty in talking againſt the King's meaſures. *Pyrrhus* being informed of it, order'd them to be brought before him: *Is it true*, ſaid he, *that you have utter'd againſt me thoſe outrageous things you are accuſed of? It is very true*, anſwered one of them; *and we ſhould have ſaid more, if our wine had not fail'd us.* *Pyrrhus* ſmiled and diſmiſſed them.

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172d Conſulſhip. Val. Max. B. 5. c. 2.

But (if we may believe *Zonaras*) he was not ſo moderate with regard to ſome of the Citizens, whoſe intrigues he ſuſpected and feared; he cauſed the moſt factious of them to be diſpatched by private aſſaſſinations. To get rid of one *Ariſtarchus*, a great Orator, and much in credit with the People, he commiſſion'd him to go to his ſon in *Epirus*, on ſome buſineſs which he pretended to be of great importance. *Ariſtarchus* ſaw through the artifice; and, the maſter of the veſſel in which he was to ſail being at his devotion, inſtead of going to *Greece*, he ſteered to a port of *Italy*, and went thence to *Rome*. What advice he gave the *Romans* is uncertain: But *Fabricius* was diſpatched away to viſit the *Colonies* and allies of the Republick. Nor was the precaution unneceſſary at a time when a Prince, ſo illuſtrious for his exploits in the Eaſt, undertook to deliver the *Italians* from the domination of the Republick.

Zonaras, B. 8.

Dion. apud Fulv. Urſinum.

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372d Conſulſhip.

An extraordinary event, which had happened a little before, had alſo given the *Romans* much uneaſineſs, and brought a great diſcredit on them in their *Colonies* and among their *Allies*. While *Pyrrhus* was coming to *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infeſted all the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, ſituated in the ſouthern extremity of *Italy*, near *Sicily*, applied to the Republick for a *Roman* Garriſon to defend them from an Invaſion. A *Legion* was raiſed in *Campania* for that purpoſe, and ſent to them under the command of one *Decius Jubellus*. Theſe ſoldiers, who had been uſed to a laborious life, began ſoon to envy the inhabitants the pleaſures and eaſe in which they lived, and it was not long before they formed and executed a ſcheme to make thoſe advantages their own. They forged letters from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretext, they maſſacred all the chief men of the place at a banquet, and then fell upon the reſt, whom they either put to the ſword, or drove out of the city. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and huſbands. This news was brought to *Rome* at the time when the circumſtances of the Republick would not allow the *Romans* to take vengeance on the perfidious *Legion*.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 7. Liv. Epit. 11.

§. II. *PYRRHUS* hearing at *Tarentum*, that the *Conſul Lævinus* was come with an army into *Lucania*, a province in alliance with the *Tarentines*, and was committing hoſtilities there, thought it ſhameful to continue longer ſhut up within

Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 392.

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172d Conſulſhip. Zon. B. 8.

within walls; and though he had not received any reinforcements from the *Samnites* and *Meſſapians*, or other allies of the *Tarentines*, he took the field. But firſt he wrote the following letter to *Lævinus*: PYRRHUS *to* LÆVINUS *Health. I am informed that you command an army, which is to make war againſt the* Tarentines. *Diſband it without delay, and then come and expoſe your pretenſions before me. When I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and I know how to make my ſentence be obey'd.* To this Lævinus anſwer'd: *Know,* Pyrrhus, *that we neither admit you for a Judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to aſſume the character of a Judge over us, you who have yourſelf injured us by landing in* Italy, *without our conſent? We will have no Arbitrator but* Mars, *the author of our race, and the protector of our arms.* The King, who expected no other kind of anſwer, march'd his army, without delay into the plain between the cities of *Pandoſia* and *Heraclea*; and underſtanding, that the *Romans* were incamped not far from him, on the other ſide the *Siris*, (a river which waters the country then called *Lucania*, and which empties itſelf into the Gulph of *Tarentum*) he rode up to the banks of it to take a view of their camp. When he had conſidered it well, its form and ſituation, with the manner in which the *Romans* poſted their advanced guards, and had obſerved ſome other parts of their diſcipline, he was much ſurpriſed, and turning to one of his friends who ſtood near him, *Megacles*, ſaid he, *this* ORDER *of the* Barbarians *is not* Barbarian. *What they are able to do in* fight

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, p. 393.

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we ſhall ſee hereafter. And being now a little more anxious about the ſucceſs of the war than before, he reſolved to wait within his camp for the arrival of his confederates; and he poſted ſome troops on the banks of the river to hinder the *Romans* from paſſing it. *Lævinus* nevertheleſs, knowing of what conſequence it was to come to an engagement with the *Epirot* before he could receive the reinforcements he expected, and having exhorted his troops not to be intimidated by the reputation of *Pyrrhus*, or by his Elephants (animals which they had never yet ſeen) made his Infantry ford the ſtream in the very face of the enemy's advanced guard, while his Cavalry paſſed the river in different places, and wherever they could; ſo that the *Epirots* fearing to be ſurrounded, retired in all haſte to their main body. *Pyrrhus*, upon the firſt notice of this motion, which much ſurpriſed him, directing the Officers of his Infantry to range their troops in battalia, and keep them ready to march upon the firſt ſignal, he himſelf, with the Horſe amounting to about 3000, advanced with all diligence to charge the *Romans*, before their whole army could recover firm footing, and get into order. But the *Roman* Cavalry being already formed, received him as men well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious attacks. The beauty and luſtre of the King's arms made him very conſpicuous, and his actions preſently convinced all who obſerved him, that his reputation did not exceed his merit; for in this fight, neither did his courage tranſport him beyond the duties of a careful General, nor his attention

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tention to direct others hinder him from diſplaying his perſonal Valour.

During the heat of the combat, *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, obſerving that an *Italian* horſeman had ſingled out the King, whoſe every motion he watched and followed, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, adviſing him to beware of that *Barbarian*, who, he ſaid, ſeemed to have formed ſome great deſign. PYRRHUS anſwered; *No man*, LEONATUS, *can avoid his Deſtiny; be aſſured, however, that neither that* Italian, *nor any other, ſhall have much ſatisfaction from an Encounter with me this day.* He had ſcarce ended theſe words, when the *Italian* quickening his horſe, and making directly at the King, aimed a furious ſtroke at him with his lance, but wounded only his horſe; *Leonatus*, at the ſame time, wounded that of the *Italian*, and both horſes fell to the ground with their riders. *Pyrrhus* was inſtantly ſurrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, having ſlain the *Italian*, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught *Pyrrhus* to be more cautious. Seeing his Cavalry ſhrink, he ordered his Infantry to advance; but before he put himſelf at their head to renew the charge, he gave his mantle and arms to *Megacles*, in exchange for his. The battle was obſtinately fought on both ſides, and the victory continued a long time doubtful. The King's changing his arms (tho' prudently done for the ſafety of his perſon) had like to have loſt him the day. For MEGACLES being miſtaken for the KING, was attacked by great numbers of the enemy, and at laſt

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last wounded and unhors'd by a *Roman* Knight, who pulling away his helmet and mantle, rode full speed with them to *Lævinus*, crying out, that he had slain *Pyrrhus*. These spoils being carried as in triumph through all the ranks, fill'd the *Roman* army with inexpressible joy, so that the air rung with shouts of victory; while the *Grecian* troops were struck with consternation and dismay.

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Plut. p. 394.

The King no sooner perceived the ill effect of this mistake, but with all diligence he flew along the Lines bare-headed, stretching out his hands to his soldiers, and by his voice confirming the evidence of their eyes. The combat was then renewed, and *Pyrrhus* bringing his elephants into the wings, quickly obtained the victory. For the *Roman* Battalions seeing their Cavalry put to rout by those huge animals, whose unusual form, noises, and smell, terrified the horses, and finding themselves both charged in flank, and overborne by the force and bulk of those strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight; nor did they stop to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both that and the honour of the day intirely to *Pyrrhus*.

Dion. apud. Plutarch.

Dionysius writes, that near 15000 *Romans* were slain in this battle, and that *Pyrrhus* lost 13000 of his men. But other authors lessen the loss on both sides. The King treated the prisoners, amounting to about 1800, with all possible humanity, and esteemed them the more for refusing to enlist themselves in his service.

The fame of this victory was ſoon ſpread over all *Italy*, much to the reputation of *Pyrrhus*; for it was a rare thing, that a *Roman* Conſul, with a ſelect army, ſhould loſe in a pitch'd battle not only the field, but the camp itſelf. And this honour was the more bravely won by the *Epirot*, as he had none of his *Italian* Allies to aſſiſt him, except the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content in having the glory of this action ſo peculiarly his own. His ſatisfaction was viſible in his face, even while he was ſeverely reprimanding the *Lucanians* and *Samnites* (who joined him ſoon after the battle) for their tardineſs. To attach them the more firmly to him, he gave them a ſhare of the booty.

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Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 394. Zon. B. 8.

§. III. BUT now the King of *Epirus*, with his victorious army, broke like a torrent into the countries in alliance with the Republick, and many cities ſurrendering to him, he advanced within 30 miles of *Rome* [a]. *Zonaras* relates, that the King being diſappointed in his deſigns upon *Capua* and *Naples*, thought to march into *Hetruria*, join the enemies of the *Roman* Republick in that country, and thence go and beſiege *Rome*; but that hearing there was an alliance juſt concluded between the *Hetrurians* and *Romans*, and that the Conſul *Coruncanius*, who by a ſucceſsful cam-

[a] *Florus*, Book I. c. 18. in his poetick ſtrain tells us, that *Pyrrhus* from a hill near *Præneſte* took a view of *Rome*, and filled the eyes of the trembling inhabitants with ſmoke and duſt at twenty miles diſtance, *à viceſimo lapide oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit.*

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campaign had effected that alliance, was advancing againſt him, he proceeded no further in his march. It appears, indeed, by the *Capitoline Marbles* that *Tib. Coruncanius* had a Triumph for his victories this year over the *Volſinienſes* and *Volcientes* in *Hetruria.* And it is not improbable that theſe victories compleated the reduction of that country. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Pyrrhus* returned to *Tarentum.*

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained, were not ſo dejected, as to have any thought of aſking peace from the victor; nor tho' *Fabricius* ſaid publickly, *that the* Epirots *had not vanquiſhed the* Romans, *but that* Pyrrhus *had vanquiſhed* Lævinus, did they recall the unfortunate Conſul: Their whole attention was to recruit his army, and enable him to try a ſecond engagement. *Pyrrhus*, in his return to *Tarentum*, found him in *Campania*, with a more numerous army than that which he had vanquiſhed on the Banks of the *Siris*; and hereupon he is ſaid to have cried out, *I ſee plainly I was born under the ſtar of* Hercules, *I have to do with an Hydra, whoſe Heads are no ſooner lopp'd off, but new ones ſpring up from its blood.* The Conſul offered him battle; *Pyrrhus*, unwilling to refuſe it, drew up his army, and commanded the conductors of his elephants to force them to make their ſtrange and dreadful noiſes, in order to frighten the *Roman* Legions; but theſe noiſes were anſwered by ſo univerſal and terrible a ſhout from the *Romans*, that the King who found his ſoldiers diſmay'd, thought fit to decline the engage-

Zonaras, B. 8.

Florus, B. 1.

Zonaras, B. 8.

engagement, pretending that the Omens were not favourable; and the Conſul not forcing him to fight, he purſued his march to *Tarentum*.

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§. IV. WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet in this city, he had time to reflect on the bravery, conduct, and ſtrength of the *Romans*. He conſider'd that they were better able to endure many ſuch loſſes as they had ſuffer'd, than he many ſuch victories as he had won. And he concluded therefore, that the only means to ſave his reputation was an honourable peace. He was full of theſe reflections, when to his inexpreſſible joy he heard that an embaſſy was [a] coming to him

[a] Authors are not agreed concerning the time of this embaſſy, whether it was after *Cyneas* had been to *Rome* or before. *Plutarch* (whom Mr. *Rollin* follows) makes it poſterior to *Cyneas*'s journey thither; and *Dionyſius* ſeems to do the ſame. But, if we conſider the haughty manner in which *Cyneas* was diſmiſſed by the Senate, with an abſolute refuſal of entering into any treaty with the King while he continued in *Italy*, at leaſt it is very unlikely that *Fabricius*, after ſuch a refuſal, ſhould apply himſelf to *Pyrrhus* in the manner *Dionyſius* repreſents, preaching about the inconſtancy of fortune, and as if he was aſking a favour. He is made to ſpeak more like an ambaſſador from a people who ſued for peace, than from the proud *Roman* Senate, who rejected it even upon reaſonable terms. *Hannibal*, indeed, before the battle of *Zama*, talks much to *Scipio* of the mutability of fortune, and the viciſſitudes of war; but this was in order to diſpoſe him to grant peace to the *Carthaginians*, whom he had reduced to extremity. Flor. Epit. and Zon. L. 8.

Neither can I ſee what there was unbecoming in *Fabricius*'s propoſal, even upon the ſuppoſition that the *Romans* had rejected a peace offered. A releaſe of priſoners by way of ranſom or exchange, is what ſurely without any indecency may be propoſed to an enemy, notwithſtanding that a peace See D. Hal. in Legat.

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from the Senate; he pleaſed himſelf with the imagination, that it was to aſk that peace, which he himſelf ſo much deſired. But when the three *Roman* Ambaſſadors, *Cornelius Dolabella*, *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, after a ſplendid reception, were admitted to an audience, they propoſed nothing more than *a releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners, either by way of exchange, or for ſuch a ranſom per head, as ſhould be agreed upon.* Pyrrhus, after a moment's ſilence, anſwered, *That he would conſider of the matter, and let them know his reſolution.* Accordingly he aſſembled his Council; and there *Cyneas*, who knew his maſter's inclination, propoſed that an embaſſy ſhould be immediately ſent to *Rome* to negotiate a peace, of which one of the conditions ſhould be the releaſe of the *Roman* Priſoners without ranſom. The reſt of the Council declared themſelves of the ſame opinion, and the King gave the *Romans* an anſwer conformable to it.

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Dion. Hal. in Legat. Zon. B. 8.

Pyrrhus after this deſired a private conference with *Fabricius*, who, he had heard, was the man moſt eſteemed, for his virtue, of any in the Republick, a brave and able warrior, and very poor. The King taking him apart, told him, *He had been informed of his diſtinguiſh'd merit, and of his poverty ſo unſuitable to it; that he thought a Prince could never employ his wealth and power to a nobler*

peace has been refuſed to that enemy upon his terms. Yet *Dionyſius* makes *Pyrrhus* reprove the ambaſſadors as guilty herein of an unworthy proceeding —— Σχετλιόν τι μέγημα ποιῆτε, &c. —*D. Hal.* in Legat. p. 714. Dr. *Hudſ.* edit.

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a nobler purpoſe, than that of raiſing the fortune of an indigent great man; and that for this reaſon he had reſolved to beſtow ſuch riches upon him, *as ſhould put him, at leaſt, upon an equality with the moſt opulent nobles of* Rome. The King added; *nor yet imagine,* FABRICIUS, *that my intention is to aſk any thing, in return, that can be inconſiſtent with the regard you owe your country. I demand nothing but your aid in negotiating the peace which I am deſirous to conclude with the* Roman Senate. *You know very well, that I cannot with honour abandon the* Tarentines, *and the other* Greeks *who are ſettled in this part of* Italy, *before I have ſecured to them a peace with* Rome *upon equitable terms. Some preſſing affairs call me back into my own country, and this makes me the more ſollicitous to finiſh our war by an amicable treaty. If my being a* KING [a] *renders me ſuſpected*

17ad Conſuliſhip. Dion. Hal. in Legat.

[a] The *Greek* Hiſtorians ſeldom loſe any occaſion of letting us know their unfavourable opinion of Kings. *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of this very *Pyrrhus*, ſays, KINGS *have no reaſon to complain when inferior men change ſides, and violate faith for private advantage, ſeeing, in this, they do but imitate* them *who are the great maſters in perfidy and treachery; and whoſe* maxim *is*, that no man purſues his own intereſt with ſo much prudence, as he who has no regard to juſtice. Plut. in Pyrrh.

And *Polybius* (L. ii. p. 202.) reproves the folly of *Phylarchus*, an hiſtorian, who in giving an account of the miſerable end of *Ariſtomachus*, King of *Argos*, whom (as he pretends) the *Achaians* had put to death by torture, endeavours to heighten the glory of the ſufferer, and excite the greater indignation againſt his perſecutors, by ſaying, "*That* Ariſtomachus *was not only an* ABSOLUTE PRINCE, *but deſcended from anceſtors, who had been* ABSOLUTE PRINCES. What more bitter accuſation (ſays *Polybius*) could any one eaſily have brought againſt him? What charge heavier with crimes

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ſuſpected by the Senate, becauſe other princes have made no ſcruple to violate the faith of treaties, be you yourſelf my ſecurity. When the peace is made, come and aſſiſt me with your counſels; I will undertake nothing without your advice; you ſhall be my chief miniſter, my lieutenant in the field, nay a ſharer with me in all that I poſſeſs. I have need of an honeſt man, and a faithful friend, and you have need

"crimes could he have loaded him with? For ſurely this "name of ABSOLUTE PRINCE expreſſes the very height of "impiety; it imports all the kinds of injuſtice and wick-"edneſs, that can be committed by man." Καίπερ ὁ συγγραφεὺς βουλόμενος αὔξειν αὐτῷ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παραιτήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν φησὶ γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν τὴν πικροτέραν ἐφ' ἂν ἐπαιεῖν ῥᾳδίως δύναιτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἔμφασιν, καὶ πάσας περιειληφε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας.

The reader obſerves, that the word which, in this paſſage of *Polybius*, has been tranſlated ABSOLUTE PRINCE, is τύραννος [TYRANT] an appellation frequently uſed by the antients to ſignify only *A prince with abſolute and perpetual power*; in which ſenſe it is uſed by *Phylarchus* on the preſent occaſion. We cannot poſſibly ſuppoſe him ſo very unſkilled in the *Pathetick*, as to endeavour at exciting either indignation or pity for the ſufferings of *Ariſtomachus*, by telling us, *that he not only was a* TYRANT *himſelf, but deſcended from anceſtors, who had been as great* TYRANTS *as he.*

Cornelius Nepos, ſpeaking of *Miltiades*, has theſe words:—Cherſoneſi omnes illos quos habitarat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, *tyrannuſque* fuerat appellatus, ſed juſtus. Non erat enim *vi* conſequutus, ſed *ſuorum voluntate*, eamque poteſtatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem et habentur, et dicuntur tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt.

need of a generous Prince, a Prince, whoſe munificence may enable you to make your virtues and your talents for great affairs more conſpicuous, and more uſeful: Let us therefore mutually contribute to each other's happineſs.

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FABRICIUS anſwered in words to this effect:

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You have, indeed, been rightly informed concerning my poverty. My whole eſtate conſiſts in a houſe of but mean appearance, and a little ſpot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my ſupport. But if, by any means, you have been perſuaded to think, that this poverty makes me leſs conſidered in my Country, *or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reaſon to complain of Fortune. She ſupplies me with all that nature requires, and, if I am without ſuperfluities, I am alſo free from the deſire of them. With theſe, I confeſs, I ſhould be more able to ſuccour the neceſſitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied: but as ſmall as my poſſeſſions are, I can ſtill contribute* ſomething *to the ſupport of the ſtate, and the aſſiſtance of my friends. With regard to* HONOURS, my Country *places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richeſt: For* Rome *knows no qualifications for great employments, but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the moſt auguſt ceremonies of religion; ſhe intruſts me with the command of her armies; ſhe conſides to my care the moſt important negotiations: my poverty does not leſſen the weight and influence of my Counſels in the* Senate; *the* Roman People *honour me for that very poverty which you conſider as a diſgrace; they know*

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know the many opportunities I have had, in war, to enrich myſelf without incurring cenſure; they are convinced of my diſintereſted zeal for their *proſperity; and, if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make me, it is only the* exceſs *of their applauſe. What value then can I ſet upon your gold and ſilver? What King can add any thing to* my *fortune? Always attentive to diſcharge the duties incumbent on me, I have* A MIND FREE FROM SELF-REPROACH, *and I have an* HONEST FAME.

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The King, perceiving by this anſwer that *Fabricius* abſolutely refuſed his offers, preſſed him no farther. The next day, knowing that he had never ſeen an elephant, and being deſirous to try whether he could ſurpriſe and diſcompoſe him, he commanded the largeſt he had of thoſe animals to be armed, and led to the place where he intended to converſe with the ambaſſador. The beaſt was to ſtand concealed behind ſome hangings till a ſign ſhould be made for his appearance. The King's order being punctually executed, the ſignal was given, the hangings were ſuddenly drawn aſide, and the enormous animal, ſtretching out his trunk over the head of the *Roman*, made a moſt terrifying noiſe. *Fabricius* betrayed not the leaſt emotion, but turning towards *Pyrrhus*, ſaid with a ſmile, *Neither your* Gold *yeſterday, nor your* Great Beaſt *to-day, have made any impreſſion upon me.*

Plut. ibid.

While they were ſitting at table in the evening, diſcourſing of various ſubjects, but eſpecially of *Greece*, and the philoſophers of that country, CYNEAS happened to mention EPICURUS;

CURUS; and he began to relate the principles of the *Epicurean* doctrine: *That the* DIVINITY, *far removed from love and hatred, compaſſion and anger, and wholly regardleſs of humankind, lived through all ages, without action, and without providence, totally abſorpt in an uninterrupted flow of delights. That* PLEASURE *was alſo the* SOVEREIGN GOOD *of* MAN; *and that, for this reaſon, all publick employments, all ſollicitude for the publick weal ſhould be carefully ſhunn'd by the wiſe, as inconſiſtent with a life of happineſs.* —— *Cyneas* was going on, when with a loud voice, O HERCULES, cried FABRICIUS, *May* PYRRHUS *and the* TARENTINES *be heartily of this* SECT, *while they are at war with us!* The King greatly admiring the wiſdom and virtue of the *Roman*, became more deſirous than ever to conclude an alliance with his Republick. He therefore, once more, took him apart, and warmly preſſed him to employ his endeavours for a ſpeedy accommodation, earneſtly requeſting of him at the ſame time, that, as ſoon as the peace ſhould be made, he would come and live at his court, where he promiſed him the firſt place among all his friends and captains. *Fabricius* anſwer'd in a kind of whiſper, *You don't conſider,* SIR, *your own intereſt in what you propoſe; for if thoſe who now honour and admire* you, *come once to have experience of* me, *they will chuſe rather to have* me *for their King than* you. *Pyrrhus* was not in the leaſt offended with this anſwer, but to his friends highly commended the exalted ſoul of the *Roman*; upon whoſe ſingle

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parole he alſo ſuffer'd the * priſoners to go to *Rome* to celebrate the feſtival of the *Saturnalia*.

And now *Pyrrhus* having reſolved to ſend *Cyneas* to negotiate a peace with the *Roman* Senate, inſtructed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, to aſk nothing of the *Romans* but their † friendſhip, and a ſufficient ſecurity for the *Tarentines*. Upon which conditions he offer'd to ceaſe all hoſtilities, releaſe the captives, and aſſiſt the Republick in the conqueſt of *Italy*.

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Together with theſe inſtructions, *Pyrrhus* furniſhed his Ambaſſador with magnificent preſents

* The Senate (according to *Plutarch*) careful of *Fabricius*'s honour and their own, commanded every priſoner upon pain of death to return to *Pyrrhus*, as ſoon as the feſtival ſhould be over.

With reſpect to this affair there is a great diverſity in the accounts of *Plutarch*, *Juſtin*, *Florus*, and *Zonaras*. Some ſay, the priſoners were abſolutely releaſed, and that the Senate, to puniſh them as cowards, would not ſuffer them to ſerve again in the field, but ſent them to garriſon Towns.

† Other writers make his demands to be more extenſive, and ſay, that he required, in favour of all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, the ‖ enjoyment of their laws and liberty; and further, that the Republick ſhould reſtore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians*, whatever ſhe had conquer'd from them. Theſe demands, if they were made, may well account for the warm indignation which *Appius Claudius the Blind* expreſſed, as we ſhall preſently find, at the Senate's liſtening to *Pyrrhus*'s miniſter. But then it will be difficult to reconcile them with the offer which *Pyrrhus* at the ſame time made the *Romans*, to aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of *Italy*. The *Jeſuits*, aware of this inconvenience, have made *Cyneas* ſpeak only of the Weſt of *Italy*.

‖ *Appian.* apud *Fulv. Urſin.*

sents for those persons whose assistance would be necessary to compass what he desired; nor did he forget rare and precious toys for the *Roman* Ladies, by whose means he hoped to smooth the rugged spirit of their Husbands in his favour. Some authors report, that *Cyneas* found both men and women so steady and uncorrupt, that not one of either sex would receive any of his presents: but *Zonaras* affirms, that many even of the Senators were gained by the liberality of *Pyrrhus*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that after *Cyneas* had had his audience in the Senate, several of the *Conscript Fathers* discover'd a strong inclination to accept the peace proposed, assigning for reasons the battle they had already lost, the hazard they were in of losing another (*Pyrrhus*'s strength being now greatly augmented by the junction of his *Italian* allies) and the fatal consequences that might attend a second overthrow. A rumour of this disposition in the Senate being spread through the city, came to the ears of *Appius Claudius*. He had for some time, on account of his great age and the loss of his sight, retired from all publick business,* and confined himself wholly to his family. Upon hearing the report of what pass'd in the Senate, he caused himself to be carried in the arms of his domesticks to the door of the Senate-house. There his sons and his sons-in-law met him, and led him into the assem-

Year of ROME cccclxxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred seventy-nine.

172d Consulship.

Just. Plut. & Flor.

Plut. in Pyrrh. P. 394.

* This *Appius Claudius* had been *Quæstor* in the Y. of R. 435; *Curule Ædile* in 438; and, a second time, in 440; *Censor* in 441; *Consul* in 446; *Prætor*, in 448; *Consul*, a second time, in 457; *Prætor*, a second time, in 458; *Dictator* in 461, (according to Pighius.)

Year of ROME ccccl xxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-nine.

bly, which was huſh'd into a profound ſilence the moment he appear'd. The venerable old man was hardly enter'd, when he thus began:

" Hitherto, *Romans*, I have borne the loſs of " my ſight with wearineſs and impatience; but " my great affliction now is, that I am only *blind*, " and that I am not *deaf* too; that I am able " to hear of thoſe ſhameful reſolutions you are " taking, and of that infamous Treaty which is " to extinguiſh the glory of the *Roman* name. " What then is become of all thoſe brave diſ- " courſes, thoſe lofty, ſounding words, with " which you are wont to make all places ring, " *That if* Alexander *had come into* Italy *when we* " *were young, and our Fathers in the vigour of their* " *age*; *that if* the Great Alexander *had* dared " *to contend in arms with* Us, *he would not be now* " *ſtiled* THE INVINCIBLE, *but by his death or* " *flight have added new luſtre to the* Roman *Glory?* " An idle tale! vain and empty boaſting! He- " roes indeed! you that are afraid of the *Chao-* " *nians* * and *Moloſſians*, ever the prey of the " *Macedonians!* you, that are trembling at the " name of *Pyrrhus*, an aſſiduous humble cour- " tier of one of *Alexander*'s life-guards! a vaga- " bond in *Italy*, come hither not ſo much to " ſuccour the *Italick Greeks*, as to ſeek a ſhel- " ter from his enemies at home! And yet this " mighty man, this *Pyrrhus*, it ſeems, is to con- " quer *Italy*; he is to *ſubdue all Italy* to *Us* with " thoſe very forces that were not able to *pre-* " *ſerve* to *Him* a *ſmall portion* of *Macedonia!* " No, *Romans*, ſuffer not his arrogance to eſcape

372d Conſulſhip.

* People of Epirus.

" unpuniſhed; if you condeſcend to treat with " him, your glory is at an end; *Pyrrhus* will " himſelf deſpiſe you; his allies will inſult you " as a nation eaſy to be terrify'd; and one diſ- " honourable peace will involve you in a hun- " dred wars."

Year of ROME cccclxxiii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-nine.

172d Conſulſhip.

Appius, by theſe and ſome other words to the like effect, ſo awaken'd the *Roman* ſpirit in the Senators, that without further debate they unanimouſly paſſed a decree, inſtantly to diſmiſs the Ambaſſador with this anſwer, *That the* Romans *would enter into no Treaty with King* Pyrrhus *ſo long as he continued in* Italy; *but with all their ſtrength would purſue the war againſt him, tho' he ſhould vanquiſh a thouſand* Lævinus's.

Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395.

Cyneas left *Rome* the ſame day, and return'd to *Tarentum*. 'Tis ſaid, that when *Pyrrhus* aſk'd him his opinion of the *Roman* City and Senate, he anſwer'd, that ROME *was a* TEMPLE, *and the* SENATE *an* ASSEMBLY OF KINGS. His account of what he had obſerved greatly increaſed the King's admiration of the *Romans*; but finding that there was no hopes of peace, he made all poſſible preparations for the next campaign.

Plut. ibid. Flor. B. 1. c. 18.

CHAP. XXVII.

§. I. *The* Romans *come to a ſecond battle with King* Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus *retires to* Tarentum, *and the* Conſuls *into winter-quarters.* §. II. *The* Carthaginians *ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the* Romans *againſt* Pyrrhus. *The* Senate *refuſe the aſſiſtance offer'd.* §. III. *The* Romans *and* Epirots

having again taken the field, the Conſuls *give the king notice of the treachery of his Phyſician, who had offer'd to poiſon him for a reward.* Pyrrhus *once more ſends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of peace, but to no effect.* §. IV. Pyrrhus *paſſes with his army into* SICILY.

Year of ROME cccclxxiv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-eight.

§. I. IN the mean time the Republick choſe new *Conſuls*, *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, (whoſe father and grand-father were both famous for their *Devotements.*) The two Generals joined their armies, and marched together into *Apulia*, where they found *Pyrrhus* incamped near a little town called *Aſculum*, and where they intrench'd themſelves in a plain at the foot of the *Apennines*. This plain was divided by a large deep ſtream, which likewiſe ſeparated the two camps. For ſome time the *Romans* and *Epirots* ſeem'd to ſtand in awe of each other. The latter had entertain'd the fooliſh belief, that the *Decii* tranſmitted from father to ſon ſome unaccountable art of Necromancy, by which they ſecured the victory to their ſide, whenever they loſt their lives in battle. *Pyrrhus* endeavour'd to deſtroy this dangerous prepoſſeſſion among his ſoldiers; and not only ſo, but he ſent a meſſage to *Decius*, *That if he attempted to* devote *himſelf, he would find the* Epirots *upon their guard, who would take him alive, and make him ſuffer the moſt cruel kind of death after the battle.* To this meſſage the *Conſuls* return'd the following anſwer: PYRRHUS *is not formidable enough to reduce us to* Devotements. *To ſhew how little we fear him, we offer*

173d Conſulſhip. Zon. B. 8.

offer him his choice: Let him paſs the river unmoleſted, or ſuffer us to do ſo, and we ſhall then ſee which of us has the more need of extraordinary methods to gain the victory. *Pyrrhus* choſe to let the *Romans* paſs the river. The Hiſtorians are not agreed concerning the circumſtances of the battle of *Aſculum*, nor the ſucceſs of it, and ſome make two battles of it. The *Romans* had prepared, againſt the Elephants, armed Chariots filled with ſoldiers, who were to throw fire-brands and other combuſtible matter againſt thoſe huge beaſts and the Towers on their backs. It is certain, that *Pyrrhus* was dangerouſly wounded in the action, and that the *Conſul Decius* loſt his life; but whether in fighting, or by a voluntary Devotement in imitation of his father and grandfather, as *Cicero* thinks, is not known. Fifteen thouſand men, including the loſs on both ſides, were left dead upon the field. *Pyrrhus* after the battle, making a march unperceived by the *Romans*, retired to *Tarentum*; whereupon the *Conſul Sulpicius* led his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*.

Year of ROME cccclxxiv, Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-eight.

173d Conſulſhip. Zonaras, B. 8.

Cicero, in Tuſc. B. 1. c. 37. Zonaras, B. 8.

§. II. AND now the Republick placed at the helm of her Government two men of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd merit, *C. Fabricius* * and *Q. Æmilius* ‖ *Papus*. The *Carthaginians* at this time ſent *Mago* with a fleet of 120 ſail to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Pyrrhus*, who, they heard, would make a deſcent upon *Sicily*, after he had forced the *Roman* Republick into a peace; for the *Syracuſians* had invited him thither to protect them againſt the tyranny of the *Carthaginians*, who not long before

Y. of R. 475. Bef. J. C. 277.

174th Conſulſhip.
* A ſecond time.
‖ A ſecond time.
Juſtin, B. 8. c. 2.

Year of ROME cccclxxiv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred seventy-eight.

before had invaded their country. *Mago* coming to *Rome*, told the Senate, *That the* Carthaginians, *full of concern to see the* Romans *attack'd by King* Pyrrhus, *had sent a fleet to their assistance, that in a war with a foreign power they might have foreign aid.* The *Fathers* returned a compliment of thanks for the kind offer, but would by no means accept it. However, they entered into a new treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in which it was stipulated, that the *Romans* should furnish Troops to assist the *Carthaginian* Republick, in case *Pyrrhus* attacked it; and that the *Carthaginians* should assist the *Romans*, when desired, with their fleet. After this *Mago* sail'd to *Tarentum*, where he had a conference with the King of *Epirus*. Finding that his intention was to pass very soon into *Sicily*, he, in order to prevent it, sailed with his fleet into the *Streights* between that Island and *Italy*, under pretence of besieging *Rhegium*. This obliged *Pyrrhus* to continue at *Tarentum*, and carry on the war for some time longer against the *Romans*.

174th Consulship. Polyb. B. 3. c. 25. Liv. Epit. 13.

Justin, B. 18. c. 2.

Diod. in Eclog. B. 22.

§. III. WHEN the spring was sufficiently advanced, the *Consuls* marched their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*, and *Pyrrhus* came and incamped within sight of them; but the high opinion he had of *Fabricius* made him avoid a battle. While the two armies were watching each other, *Fabricius* § received a letter from *Nicias*, the King's principal Physician, offering to take off his master by poison, and so end the war without

§ This story is differently related by the Historians, as to the circumstances, but they all agree in the substance.

without farther hazard to the *Romans*, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatneſs of his ſervice. *Fabricius* deteſting the villainy of the Phyſician, and finding his Collegue of the ſame ſentiment, they immediately diſpatched the following letter to the King: C. FABRICIUS *and* Q. ÆMILIUS, *Conſuls, to King* PYRRHUS, *Health. You have made an unhappy choice both of your friends and of your enemies. When you have read the letter ſent us by one of your own people, you will ſee that you make war with good and honeſt men, while you truſt and promote villains. We give you this notice of your danger, not for your ſake, nor to make our court to you, but to avoid the calumny which might be brought upon us by your death, as if, for want of ſtrength or courage to overcome you, we had recourſe to treachery.* *Pyrrhus*, upon receipt of this letter, is ſaid to have cry'd out, *This is that* Fabricius, *whom it is harder to turn aſide from the ways of juſtice and honour, than to divert the ſun from its courſe*; and in acknowledgment of the benefit, he immediately ſet all the *Roman* priſoners free without ranſom. *Rome* was however too generous to accept a preſent from an enemy, much leſs a reward for not conſenting to an execrable deed. In return therefore ſhe releaſed an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* priſoners. But though *Pyrrhus*, more ardent than ever for a peace, diſpatch'd *Cyneas* once more to *Rome*, to try the force of his eloquence and preſents, this able miniſter had no better ſucceſs than before; the

Year of ROME cccclxxv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-ſeven.

174th Conſulſhip. Zonaras, B. 8. Plut. Life of Pyrrh. p. 396.

Eutropius, B. 2. c. 14.

Plut. in Pyrrhus, p. 396.

Year of ROME cccclxxv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-ſeven.

the Senators were ſteady in their reſolution to enter into no treaty with the King, till he had withdrawn his troops out of *Italy*.

§. IV. IT has been already ſaid, that the *Syracuſians* had invited *Pyrrhus* into their iſland to aſſiſt them againſt the *Carthaginians*. The King laid hold of this pretext to quit the war againſt the *Romans*, in which he had now but little hope of ſucceſs, having in the laſt action loſt his beſt Troops and his braveſt Commanders. Beſides, the *Sicilian* expedition was a new enterpriſe, and therefore very agreeable to the natural inconſtancy of his ſpirit. But juſt at this time he received intelligence, that *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, King of *Macedon*, was dead, and that the *Macedonians* wanted a King to guard them againſt an inundation of *Barbarians*. This news kept him ſome time in ſuſpenſe, and he pleaſantly complained of Fortune for loading him with too many favours at once. *Macedon* had formerly been in his poſſeſſion, and he wiſhed to be maſter of it again; but as *Sicily* would open him a paſſage into *Africa*, and conduct him to a more ample harveſt of glory, he determined at length for that expedition. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ſent his faithful *Cyneas* before him to treat with the cities there, and give them aſſurances of his ſpeedy arrival. Not long after, leaving in *Tarentum*, under the command of *Milo*, a ſtrong garriſon, ſufficient to keep the much diſcontented inhabitants in ſubjection, he ſet ſail from thence with thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, on board a fleet of two hundred ſhips.

274th Conſulſhip. Plut. p. 397.

Zonaras, B. 8.

ſhips. His departure proved fatal to the enemies of *Rome*. *Fabricius* fell upon the united *Bruttians*, *Lucanians*, *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, defeated them, drove them out of the field, and laid waſte their countries.

Year of ROME cccclxxv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-ſeven.

CHAP. XXVIII.

274th Conſulſhip.

§. I. *The ſtate of* Sicily *at the time of* Pyrrhus's *arrival there. He makes rapid and extenſive conqueſts in the iſland.* §. II. *The* Romans *ſuffer a ſhameful defeat from the* Samnites. §. III. *But, the next year, carrying on the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Bruttians, *theſe nations ſend to intreat* Pyrrhus *to return to their aſſiſtance. His fleet, in its return to* Italy, *is attacked by the* Carthaginian *fleet. After his landing ſuffers a conſiderable loſs of men. He plunders the Temple of* Proſerpine. §. IV. *The* Romans *under the conduct of* Curius Dentatus *totally defeat the forces of* Pyrrhus. §. V. *Who leaving a ſtrong garriſon in* Tarentum, *embarks for* Epirus.

§. I. WHEN *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, this Iſland was almoſt wholly poſſeſſed by foreigners of three different nations, *Italians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Greeks*, who had ſettled there at different times. *Meſſina*, *Lilybæum*, and *Syracuſe*, were the capitals of the three dominions there eſtabliſhed. The *Mamertines*, from *Mamertum*, in *Campania*, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the

Diod. Sic. in Ecl. 21.

Year of ROME cccclxxv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-ſeven.

the *firſt* (much in the ſame manner as the perfidious *Legion*, who followed their example, got poſſeſſion of *Rhegium*;) the *Carthaginians* were maſters of the *ſecond*; and the *third* was governed by two tyrants, whom common intereſt had united after a civil war, to call in the King of *Epirus* to aſſiſt them againſt the growing power of the formidable *African* Republick.

174th Conſulſhip. Polyb. B. 2. c. 7. Y. of R. 476. Bef. J. C. 276.

Pyrrhus, ſoon after his arrival, deprived the *Carthaginians* of all their conqueſts in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. He alſo attacked the *Mamertines*, and having defeated them in a pitched battle, reduced them to their city of *Meſſina* only; after which he counted ſo much on the reduction of the whole Iſland, that he cauſed one of his younger ſons (whom he had by a daughter of King *Agathocles*) to be ſtyled King of *Sicily*, purpoſing to make the other King of *Italy*, which he now alſo looked upon as a certain conqueſt.

175th Conſulſhip.

Juſtin, B. 23. c. 3.

§. II. IN the mean time the *Centuries* at *Rome* proceeded to the choice of new *Conſuls*. *Fabricius* preſided in the *Comitia*, and the reſpect he had acquired by his virtue was ſuch, that it made him maſter of the Elections. Every body therefore was aſtoniſhed to ſee him vote and influence the aſſembly in favour of *Cornelius Ruffinus*, a man extremely covetous and ſelf-intereſted. *Fabricius* hated him thoroughly, yet promoted his election, becauſe of the dangerous ſituation of affairs, and becauſe he knew him to be a much abler ſoldier than any of his competitors. And theſe reaſons were imply'd in the ſhort anſwer he made to *Ruffinus*'s compliment of thanks; *I deſerve*

Cicero, de Orat. B. 2. c. 66.

deſerve no thanks, ſaid he, *for chuſing rather to be plundered than ſold.* The Collegue given to *Ruffinus** was *C. Junius* † *Brutus*, and they both turned their forces againſt *Samnium*. The *Samnites* being too weak to ſuſtain the attacks of two *Conſular* armies, fled to their mountains, and there intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that it was no eaſy matter to force them. The *Romans* nevertheleſs attempted it, and were puniſhed for their raſhneſs; many of them were killed, and a great number taken priſoners, and loaded with irons. The *Conſuls* at length aſhamed of their enterpriſe, threw the blame on each other, and ſeparated; *Brutus* continued in *Samnium*, while *Ruffinus* entered the territory of the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*. Theſe nations continued ſteady in their adherence to *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*. *Ruffinus* therefore not only laid their country waſte with fire and ſword, but formed a deſign upon *Croton*, a conſiderable City belonging to the *Bruttians*, and ſituated on the borders of the *Ionian* ſea, at a little diſtance from Cape *Lacinium*. He found this place too well defended to be carried by force; for *Milo* having notice of his deſign, had ſent a reinforcement of *Epirots* to the garriſon, under the command of one *Nicomachus*. However, the *Conſul* took it by ſtratagem. Having been repulſed by the beſieged, who made a ſally, he exaggerated the loſs he had ſuſtained in the action, and employed two pretended deſerters to publiſh, one, that he was going to retire into the country of the *Locrenſes*; the other, that he was actually gone, and had marched off in a precipitate manner.

Year of ROME cccclxxvi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-ſix.

175th Conſulſhip.

* A ſecond time.

† A ſecond time. Zonaras, B. 8.

Frontini Strat. B. 3. c. 6. Zonaras, B. 8.

Year of ROME cccclxxvi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-ſix.

ner. *Nicomachus*, deceived by theſe reports, and by the *Conſul*'s decamping, haſtened with his troops to relieve *Locris*, which he imagined the *Romans* intended to beſiege. *Ruffinus* took the advantage of his abſence, returned with all expedition, and, by the help of a fog, got into the place almoſt before the inhabitants, who were in perfect ſecurity, diſcovered him; and not only ſo, but he defeated *Nicomachus* alſo in the field, who, when he found himſelf cheated, would have led back his detachment to *Tarentum*. *Locris* likewiſe ſoon after ſurrendered to the *Romans*, the inhabitants having firſt maſſacred the Governor and Garriſon that *Pyrrhus* had left in it. [The *Capitoline Marbles* aſcribe all theſe exploits to the *Conſul Brutus*.]

175th Conſulſhip.

Appian. apud Valeſ.

Y. of R. 477. Bef. J. C. 275.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius* * *Gurges* and *C. Genucius*, *Rome* was afflicted with a ſtrange ſort of Plague, which chiefly affected women with child, and breeding cattle. To put an end to this calamity, an unfortunate *Veſtal* was buried alive; and *Ruffinus* was created *Dictator*, to drive a nail into the wall of *Jupiter*'s Temple. In the mean time the ſickneſs did not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the war. *Fabius* by repeated victories reduced the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians* ſo low, that they could no longer keep the field without *Pyrrhus*; and they therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to him to intreat him to return, and put himſelf again at their head.

176th Conſulſhip.

* A ſecond time.

Oroſ. B. 4. Euſeb. & Pauſan. B. 4.

The

Year of ROME cccclxxvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-five.

The face of *Pyrrhus*'s affairs in *Sicily* was now much changed. At his firſt arrival he gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, by his inſinuating affable behaviour; but being afterwards elated with ſucceſs, his mild government changed into an abſolute tyranny. He treated cruelly thoſe very men who had been chiefly inſtrumental to his good fortune. He excluded the natives from the Magiſtracies, beſtowing them on his Guards and Courtiers, whoſe extortions and injuſtices were ſo grievous, that at length the cities entered into leagues, ſome with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines*, to expel him the iſland. The *African* Republick had alſo ſent a powerful army into *Sicily* to recover her former conqueſts. This being the ſituation of the King's affairs when the Ambaſſadors arrived, he was not a little pleaſed to have ſo honourable a pretence to leave a country, where he was no longer ſafe. At his departure, he is reported to have turn'd his eyes back upon the iſland, and to have ſaid to thoſe who were near him, *What a noble field are we leaving for the* Carthaginians *and* Romans *to fight in!* In his paſſage the *Carthaginian* fleet attacked him, ſunk ſeventy of his veſſels, and diſperſed all the reſt of his two hundred ſail, except twelve ſhips, with which he eſcaped to *Italy*. He landed near *Rhegium*; and when he had there collected the ſcatter'd remains of his forces, which had been driven on different parts of the coaſt, he marched toward *Tarentum*.

176th Conſulſhip.

Juſtin, B. 23. c. 3.

Plut. Life Pyrrh. p. 398.

D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Juſtin, B. 23. c. 3.

Plut. Life of Pyrrh. p. 398.

Appian. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Plut. Life of Pyrrh. p. 399.

The *Mamertines*, upon the firſt report of his intended departure from *Sicily*, had detach'd

Year of ROME cccclxxvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-five.

176th Conſulſhip.

10,000 men to *Rhegium*, to moleſt him after his landing; and theſe lying in ambuſh in woods and behind rocks, attack'd the rear guard of his army unexpectedly, and made great ſlaughter. *Pyrrhus*, on this occaſion, ſignally diſplay'd his heroic bravery and ſurpriſing ſtrength. In the beginning of the action he received a wound in the head, which obliged him to retire out of the battle; but returning to it again, he is ſaid with one ſtroke of his ſabre to have cleft a *Mamertine* to the waiſt, who defy'd him to ſingle combat. This action ſo aſtoniſhed the enemy, that they ceaſed the fight, and the King continued his march towards *Tarentum*. It was neceſſary for him to paſs through the territory of the *Locrenſes*, who had a little before maſſacred the garriſon he had left in *Locris*. He not only exerciſed all ſorts of cruelties on this people, but plunder'd the Temple of *Proſerpine*, to ſupply the wants of his army. The great treaſure which he found there he put on board his fleet to be carried to *Tarentum* by ſea, but the ſhips were all daſh'd againſt rocks by a tempeſt, and the mariners loſt. The hiſtorians relate, that *Pyrrhus* now repented of his ſacrilege; and as the ſea had thrown the greateſt part of the treaſure upon the ſhore, he cauſed it to be gathered up and replaced in the Temple with great reverence; and not only ſo, but he put to death all thoſe who had counſelled him to rob the Temple.

Zon. B. 8.

Dio. apud Valeſium.

Val. Max. B. 1. c. 1.

His army, when he arrived at *Tarentum*, conſiſted only of about twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe.

§. IV.

§. IV. BEFORE *Pyrrhus* was in a condition to renew the war, *Rome* changed her *Conſuls*; and the famous *Curius Dentatus* was now raiſed (a ſecond time) to that dignity, with *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. Their firſt buſineſs was to raiſe two armies, which might be ſufficient to make head againſt the King of *Epirus*, with his numerous allies. But when *Curius* would have begun to form the *Legions*, he found that the *Roman* youth, from ſome unaccountable caprice, or perhaps becauſe their ſpirits were depreſs'd by the late contagious diſtemper, refuſed to inliſt themſelves. Upon this he aſſembled the *Tribes*, and put all their names into an urn. The firſt drawn was the *Pollian Tribe*; and the man of this *Tribe*, whoſe name came firſt up, being an audacious young fellow, and refuſing to liſt, *Curius* order'd his effects to be ſold, and, upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he ſold the man too, ſaying, *The Commonwealth ſtood in no need of ſuch members as refuſed obedience.* The fellow's cauſe being too bad, the *Tribunes* did not think it for their honour to aſſiſt him; and from this time if any *Roman* refuſed to liſt himſelf in a regular muſter, when commanded, it became a cuſtom to make a ſlave of him.

Year of ROME ccccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-four.

177th Conſulſhip. Appian. apud Valeſium.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3. Florus, Epit. 14.

So wholſome an inſtance of ſeverity had its due effect; and two conſiderable armies were raiſed without further oppoſition. *Lentulus* led one into *Lucania*, while *Curius* enter'd *Samnium* with the other. *Pyrrhus*, to make head againſt both, was obliged to divide his forces, which were now become very conſiderable; and eſteeming *Curius*

Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399.

Year of ROME cccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-four.

177th Conſulſhip. Frontin. B. 2. c. 1. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399.

the more formidable of the two *Roman* Generals, he marched himſelf againſt him with the choice of his *Epirots* and of his Elephants. And though the *Conſul* had poſted himſelf very advantageouſly near *Beneventum*, in a place full of hollow ways, rocks, and woods, where the *Græcian Phalanx* could not act with all its ſtrength; yet *Pyrrhus*, who found it neceſſary by ſome new exploit to confirm his allies, who were much diſcontented with him, made all poſſible haſte to attack the *Romans* in their camp. He marched by night in hopes to ſurpriſe them; but paſſing through certain woods his lights failed him, and he loſt his way; and at the break of day his approach was diſcovered by the *Romans* as he came down the hills that bordered the *Taurafian fields*. *Curius* ſallied out of his camp, with a detachment of his *Legionaries*, and fell upon the King's van guard with ſuch fury, that he put them to flight, kill'd a great number of them, and took ſome Elephants. This ſucceſs encouraged *Curius* to deſcend into the plain, and try a pitched battle with the enemy. One of his wings had the advantage in the beginning of the battle, but the other was overborne by the Elephants, and driven back to the intrenchments; but then the *Conſul* ſending for a body of troops which he had left to guard his camp, theſe ſo ply'd the huge beaſts with lighted torches, that they ran back upon the *Epirots*, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, ſo that the *Romans* obtained a compleat victory. The King is ſaid to have loſt in this action 23,000 men. His army, according

Oroſ. B. 4. c. 1.

to

to *Oroſius*, had conſiſted of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horſe.

Year of ROME cccclxxvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-four.

Pyrrhus's camp being alſo taken, proved afterwards of great ſervice to the *Romans*; for they not only admired the form of it, but made it their model for the future. Hitherto a large incloſure within a rampart and a ditch had ſerved them for a camp, in which their tents were pitched in a diſorderly manner; but now they got great light into the art of incamping, which by gradual improvements they at length carried to the higheſt perfection.

177th Conſulſhip. Eutrop. B. 2. p. 14. Frontin. B. 4. c. 1.

§. V. THE King of *Epirus*, who after his defeat had retired to *Tarentum* with a ſmall body of Horſe, reſolved to leave *Italy* as ſoon as poſſible; but he concealed his deſign, and endeavour'd to keep up the ſpirits of his allies, by giving them hopes of ſuccour from *Greece*. In reality he ſent letters thither to ſeveral courts, demanding men and money; but, for want of favourable anſwers, forged ſuch as might pleaſe thoſe he would deceive. When he could no longer conceal his reſolution of going, the method he took to ſave his honour, at leaſt for ſome time, was to pretend to be on a ſudden tranſported with anger againſt his friends for their dilatorineſs in ſending him the ſuccours he required. *Then*, ſaid he, *I muſt go myſelf and fetch them.* He left a ſtrong garriſon in *Tarentum* under the command of *Milo*; and, to engage him to be faithful, one author tells us, that he made him at his departure a very extraordinary preſent, a ſeat covered with the ſkin of the wretch *Nicias*, that Phyſician

Juſtin, B. 25. c. 3. Polynæus Stratag. B. 8.

Zon. B. 8.

Year of ROME cccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred seventy-four.

ſician who had offer'd *Fabricius* to poiſon the King his maſter. After theſe diſguiſes and precautions he returned into *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot and 500 Horſe.

CHAP. XXIX.

177th Conſulſhip. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400.

§. I. *The triumph of* Curius *for his victory. His diſintereſtedneſs.* §. II. *He is continued for another year in the Conſulate. He forces the* Samnites *and* Ducanians *to retire for refuge to their mountains. The next year, the* Conſul Claudius *defeats them in a pitched battle.* §. III. Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſends an Embaſſy to* Rome, *to aſk an alliance with the Republick. The* Romans *ſend Ambaſſadors into* Ægypt. §. IV. *Certain advice comes that* Pyrrhus *is dead.* [*The manner of his death is related.*] *The* SAMNITES, *in deſpair, put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby* totally ſubdued, *after a war which had laſted 72 years. The* BRUTTIANS *and* LUCANIANS *ſubmit ſoon after; and* Tarentum *is ſurrendered into the hands of the* Romans; *after which the* Carthaginians, *whoſe fleet lay before* Tarentum, *ſail away from the coaſt.* §. V. *The* Romans *puniſh the perfidious* Campanian Legion. §. VI. Silver Money *is coined at* Rome *for the firſt time.* §. VII. Picenum *is intirely ſubdued, and the* SABINES *are made intirely* Roman, *by being admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the* Roman Comitia. §. VIII. *A war is commenced with the* Salentines; *which nation, together with the* Sarcinates *in*

Umbria, *being intirely ſubdued,* Rome *remains miſtreſs of all the* Countries in ITALY *from the remoteſt part of* Hetruria *to the* Ionian Sea, *and from the* Tyrrhenian Sea *to the* Adriatick. §. IX. *The Republick is courted by foreign States. A law is paſſed to prevent inſults on foreign Ambaſſadors. The* Romans *regulate their* Finances.

§. 1. AND now the Triumphal Proceſſion of *Curius*, for his victory over *Pyrrhus*, drew all the attention of the People at *Rome*. The *Romans* had never before ſeen ſo much magnificence, ſuch quantities of rich ſpoil; Veſſels of Gold, Purple Carpets, Statues, Pictures, and, in ſhort, all the fineries of the *Greek* Cities. *Rome*, ſays *Florus*, could hardly contain her victory. And what raiſed the admiration of the People more than all, were the Elephants, thoſe huge animals, with Towers on their backs. The Senate, to reward the victor, impowered him to appropriate to himſelf fifty acres of the Conquered Lands; but he declined this favour, having firmly reſolved never to poſſeſs above ſeven acres, an Eſtate which he thought ſufficient for the ſupport of any honeſt man.

Year of ROME cccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-four.

177th Conſulſhip.

Florus, B. 1. c. 18.

Pliny, B. 18. c. 3. Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3.

The Triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his Collegue *Lentulus*, who had made a ſucceſsful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken *Caudium* from the *Samnites*.

This happy Conſulſhip ended with a *Cenſus* and *Luſtrum*. The auſtere *Fabricius*, and his old Collegue in the Conſulſhip, *Æmilius Papus*, being *Cenſors* this year, they made a new liſt of

Year of ROME cccclxxviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-four.

Senators, and excluded all thoſe of the former liſt who led diſſolute lives; nay *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, was ſtruck out of the roll, only for having ten pounds weight of Silver Plate for his table. The number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear arms appeared to be 271,224.

177th Conſulſhip. Plut. Life of Sylla. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 9. Y. of R. 479. Bef. J. C. 273.

§. II. THE *Romans* being under the apprehenſion that *Pyrrhus* might ſoon appear again in *Italy*, continued *Curius* in the Conſulate for the next year, giving him for a Collegue *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time the *Tarentines*, who had hated *Pyrrhus*, ever ſince his firſt coming among them, began now to deſpiſe him. Placing one *Nicon* at their head, they forced *Milo* and his Troops to retire into the Citadel, and confine themſelves there. The belief that by theſe diviſions *Tarentum* would ruin herſelf, and be forced in the end to ſurrender to the *Romans*, was what probably made *Curius* neglect to beſiege it. He turned his forces againſt the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who not being able to keep the field, retired to their mountains. But in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabius Dorſo* and *C. Claudius* * *Canina*, being encouraged doubtleſs, by the emiſſaries from *Epirus*, who promiſed them that *Pyrrhus* (after the conqueſt of *Macedon*, which he had undertaken ſince his return home) would haſten to their aſſiſtance, they came down again into the plains to defend their Towns, and preſerve their harveſts. *Claudius* defeated them in a pitched battle, and preſerved the ſame aſcendant over them, which his predeceſſors had gained.

178th Conſulſhip. Zonaras, B. 8.

Y. of R. 480. Bef. J. C. 272.

279th Conſulſhip. * a ſecond time.

Faſt. Capit.

§. III.

Year of ROME cccclxxx. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-two.

§. III. THE reputation of the *Romans* being now ſpread into foreign countries by the ſucceſsful war they had ſuſtained for ſix years againſt *Pyrrhus*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Ægypt*, ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome* to aſk the friendſhip of the Republick, an honour which gave the *Romans* no ſmall pleaſure. Not to be out-done in civility they ſent away to *Ægypt* four ambaſſadors, choſen with the utmoſt circumſpection by a Senate ſtudious to preſerve their reputation abroad intire. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the Embaſſy, and with him were join'd three *Curule Ædiles*, two of them brothers of the *Fabian* family, and the third *Q. Ogulnius*. Their reception was magnificent, and *Ptolemy* at a ſplendid entertainment preſented each of them with a Crown of Gold, which they received, becauſe they were unwilling to diſoblige him by a refuſal; but they went the next morning and placed them on the heads of the King's Statues, that were erected in the publick parts of the city. The rich preſents which the King offered them at their audience of leave they alſo accepted; but at their return to *Rome*, and before they went to the Senate, they depoſited all theſe preſents in the publick Treaſury, deſiring no reward but Glory for the ſervices they did their country: However, the Senate and People ordered the *Quæſtors* to reſtore to the Ambaſſadors what had been given them for their own uſe.

179th Conſulſhip. Europ. B. 2. p. 15. Zonaras, B. 8. Liv. Epit. 14. Dion. in excerpt. Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3.

§. IV. WHETHER the *Romans* believed or not, that *Pyrrhus*, when he had conquered *Macedon*, would once more return into *Italy*, they took

Year of ROME cccclxxxi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred seventy-one.

took care to chuſe ſuch *Conſuls* for the next year as ſhould be able to cope with him, if he came. Their choice fell upon *L. Papirius Curſor* and *Sp. Carvilius*, who both of them had been raiſed to that eminent ſtation before, and had ſignalized themſelves in it. Theſe Generals, with two Conſular armies, were already entered into the Territory of the *Samnites*, when an account came that *Pyrrhus* was dead. This inconſtant Prince, when he had almoſt totally ſubdued *Macedon*, left that enterpriſe to undertake the protection and reſtoration of *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, who had been driven from his capital by the intrigues of his wife, and the ambition of his nephew. Such was the *Epirot*'s pretence; but his real deſign was to make himſelf maſter of all *Peloponneſus*, by taking advantage of the diviſions which had ſprung up there. He march'd into *Laconia*, and inveſted *Lacedæmon*, but ſoon after quitted that undertaking likewiſe, to get poſſeſſion of *Argos*, whither he was invited by one of the two factions into which that city was ſplit. There he fell by the hand of a woman. The faction that favoured him having in the night admitted him into the Town by one of the gates, and the other faction having opened another gate to a body of *Macedonians* and *Spartans*, a bloody battle was fought, in which *Pyrrhus* receiving a ſlight wound from a young *Argian*, would have revenged it by his death: But the mother of the young man, affrighted at her ſon's danger, which ſhe beheld from the top of a houſe, took up a great tile, and with both her hands threw it at the

180th Conſulſhip.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, p. 404, 405. Juſtin, B. 25. c. 4.

the King; who receiving the blow in the nape of his neck, of which it bruiſed the *Vertebræ*, fell ſenſeleſs to the ground; and then *Zopyrus*, a *Macedonian*, who was the only perſon in the throng that knew him, ſevered his head from his body.

Year of ROME cccclxxxi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-one.

The news of *Pyrrhus*'s death threw the *Samnites* into deſpair; they now look'd upon their liberty as gone, and, like men in ſuch a ſituation, put all to the hazard of a ſingle battle. *Florus* ſays, that the *Samnites* were ſo totally conquered, and the ruins of their Cities ſo ruined, that *Samnium* might in vain be ſought for in *Samnium*. And thus ended this bloody war, which had laſted ſeventy-two years, and had procured the *Roman* Generals thirty-one Triumphs. The *Bruttians* and *Lucanians* ſoon after ſubmitted to the ſame yoke. *Tarentum* remained unpuniſhed, and thither therefore the *Conſuls* marched and inveſted it. *Milo* ſtill poſſeſſed the Citadel. The *Tarentines* (as it is reaſonably thought) had implored the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*; for theſe lay with a fleet before the Town, and pretended to have no deſign but againſt *Milo* and his *Epirots*. *Papirius* being deſirous to prevent the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, ſignified privately to *Milo*, that if he would ſurrender up the Citadel to him, he and his garriſon ſhould not only have their lives ſpared, but be tranſported ſafe with their effects to *Epirus*. *Milo* readily liſtened to this offer, and even did more than he was aſk'd. He undertook to put the City likewiſe into the *Conſul*'s hands. Having aſſembled the *Tarentines*, he perſuaded them

180th Conſulſhip.

Flor. B. 1. c. 16.

Oroſ. B. 4. ch. 3.

Liv. Epit. 14. Zonaras, B. 8. Frontin. Stratag. B. 3. c. 3.

to

Year of ROME cccclxxxi. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy-one.

to depute him to the *Conſul*, promiſing to negociate matters ſo well for them, that they ſhould loſe neither their lives nor their eſtates; and he made good his word. The *Romans* being ſoon after admitted into the Town, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the *Carthaginians*, when they found themſelves diſappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the *Romans* in a well grounded ſuſpicion, that they had intended to ſeize a place which by right of Conqueſt belonged to *Rome*; and though their manner of proceeding did not cauſe an open rupture, it produced a coldneſs at leaſt between the two Republicks.

180th Conſulſhip.

Faſt. Capit.

§. V. ALL the old enemies of *Rome*, the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, *Campanians*, and *Hetrurians* being ſubdued, and theſe, with the other nations newly conquered, being now become parts of one and the ſame State of which *Rome* was the capital, the Republick was at leiſure to wipe off the diſhonour thrown upon her by the perfidious *Campanian Legion*, formerly ſent to *Rhegium*. As ſoon therefore as *Quinctius Claudius* and *L. Genucius Clepſina* were entered upon the *Conſulſhip*, the latter was ordered to lead an army to that City, and beſiege it. The uſurpers, to make a better defence, not only called to their aſſiſtance the *Mamertines* (who were themſelves originally *Campanians*, and had acted the ſame part at *Meſſana* after the death of King *Agathocles*, which the other had done at *Rhegium*) but open'd an *Aſylum* for all the *Banditti* of the country. Their obſtinacy being increaſed by this additional

Polyb. B. 1. c. 7.

Zon. B. 8.

tional ſtrength, the ſiege proved a long one, and proviſions failing in the camp of the *Romans*, *Genucius* was obliged to have recourſe to *Hiero*, King of *Syracuſe*, a generous Prince, whoſe name will be often mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory. *Hiero* furniſhed the *Conſul* not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of ſome *Sicilian* Troops; and by the help of theſe ſuccours the *Romans* took the town. Of about 4000 men, of which the guilty *Legion* had at firſt conſiſted, there remained now but 300 alive. Theſe, tho' *Campanians* by birth, having the privileges of *Roman Citizenſhip*, were ſent priſoners to *Rome* to be there tried. The Senate condemn'd them all to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded; and, notwithſtanding that one of the *Tribunes* made an oppoſition to this ſentence, pretending that it belonged to the People alone to pronounce upon *Roman Citizens* in capital caſes, the decree was executed, and they were put to death by fifty at a time in the *Forum Romanum*. By this execution the Republick cleared herſelf from the ſuſpicion of having had any part in the treachery of the *Campanian Legion*. Thoſe of the old inhabitants, who had eſcaped the cruelty of the uſurpers, were re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of their lands, liberties, and laws.

Year of ROME cccclxxxii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſeventy.

181ſt Conſulſhip. Polyb. B. 1. c. 7. Val. Max. B. 2. ch. 7. § 15.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 7.

§. VI. DURING the following adminiſtration of the *Conſuls C. Genucius* and *Cn. Cornelius*, the former obtained a victory over the *Sarcinates*, a people of *Umbria*, who were for the moſt part *Gauls*. This year was remarkable for nothing more, except the ſeverity of the winter. The

Y. of R. 483. Bef. J. C. 269.

182d Conſulſhip. Faſt. Cap. Zon. & D. Aug.

Year of ROME cccclxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſixty-eight.

The ſnow lay forty days upon the ground in the *Forum* of *Rome*, and was of a prodigious depth. The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor*, were ordered to undertake the reduction of the *Picentes* and *Salentines*, (the only nation in the Eaſt of *Italy* not yet ſubject to the Republick) but they were of a ſudden called elſewhere, to extinguiſh a flame, which a very ſmall ſpark had kindled. One *Lollius*, by birth a *Samnite*, had been delivered to the *Romans* by his countrymen, as a hoſtage for their fidelity. This man had eſcaped from *Rome*, joined a company of rebels, ſeized a ſtrong place in *Samnium*, and was committing robberies in all the country; he had drawn alſo the *Caricini*, who were either a people of *Samnium*, or in alliance with them, into his meaſures, making their City the magazine of his booty. The *Conſuls* were therefore diſpatched to lay ſiege to that place; and by the help of ſome deſerters, who introduced the *Roman* Troops ſecretly into it, they made an eaſy conqueſt. The *Conſuls* had no Triumph for their ſucceſs in this war, becauſe it was deemed a civil war; nevertheleſs, they ſignalized their victory by more laſting monuments.

183d Conſulſhip. Eutrop. B. 2. c. 16. Zonar. B. 8.

To this time the *Romans* had never uſed any money in commerce, except pieces of Braſs, ſtamped with the figure of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar; they had been too poor to coin Silver Money. But now after the conqueſt of *Samnium*, and the ſurrendry of *Tarentum*, the riches of the State being increaſed, and a great quantity of bars of ſilver (of no uſe to the Republick in that form)

Plin. B. 33. ch. 3.

form) having been found among the treaſures taken from *Lollius*, the *Conſuls* thought it adviſeable to coin the ſilver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the Mint was the Temple of *Juno Moneta*, from whence comes the word *Money*. The new ſpecies, inſtead of being ſtamped with the figures of animals, was made to repreſent the exploits of the *Roman* Heroes, by ingenious hieroglyphicks; but ſo ænigmatically, that the invention of our antiquaries is often put to the rack to explain them. Some of theſe pieces of ſilver money, being worth ten *Aſſes of braſs*, were called *Denarii*, and marked with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five *Aſſes*, were called *Quinarii*, and were marked with the letter V. The *Seſtertii*, which were worth but two *Aſſes* and a half, were diſtinguiſhed by the letters HS or LLS *.

Year of ROME cccclxxxiv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſixty-eight.

183d Conſulſhip. Suidas under the word Μοννα.

Varr. de ling. Lat. B. 4.

* Duo & Semis tertius.

§. VII. THE next year the new *Conſuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus* and *Appius Claudius Craſſus* (ſon of the famous blind *Appius*, and the heir of his artfulneſs) entered *Picenum* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* obliged the latter ſoon after to march thither. He laid ſiege to *Camerinum*, a town ſituated near the *Apennines* that ſeparated *Umbria* from *Picenum*; and when he had taken it, treated the inhabitants barbarouſly: He ſold them for ſlaves, contrary to his agreement with them, put the purchaſe-money into the publick treaſury, and ſeized their lands. The Republick, however, would not authoriſe ſo wicked a fraud. The Senate order'd the unhappy wretches to be ſought out, granted them the privilege of *Roman Citizens*,

Y. of R. 485. Bef. J. C. 267.

184th Conſulſhip. Eutrop. B. 2. c. 16. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5.

Year of ROME cccclxxxv. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſixty-eight.

Citizens, aſſigned them a quarter upon Mount *Aventine* for an habitation, and allotted each of them as much land as he had loſt in *Umbria*.

In the mean time *Sempronius Sophus* purſued the war againſt the *Picentes*. Juſt as he was going to engage with the enemy in a pitch'd battle, a ſudden earthquake greatly terrified his ſoldiers, and damped their ardour for fighting; but he telling them, *That the earth ſhook only for fear of changing its maſters*, and then vowing a Temple to the Goddeſs *Tellus*, they quickly recover'd their courage, and fell upon the *Picentes* with their uſual intrepidity. The battle muſt have been exceedingly bloody; for tho' the *Conſul* gain'd the victory, he loſt the greater part of his troops in the action. *Aſculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, ſoon after ſurrender'd, and the whole nation gave themſelves to the *Romans*; an important increaſe of the dominion of the Republick, becauſe this country alone was able to ſupply her armies with 360,000 ſoldiers.

183d Conſulſhip. Frontin. Strat. B. 1. c. 12. Flor. B. 1. c. 19. Oroſ. B. 4. c. 4. Plin. B. 3. c. 13.

To keep the newly-conquer'd nations in awe, the *Romans* at this time ſettled *Colonies* at *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and at *Beneventum* in that of the *Sammites*; and at this time alſo the *Sabines*, whoſe right of Citizenſhip at *Rome* had hitherto extended only to the privilege of being incorporated in the *Legions*, inſtead of barely ſerving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the City, and thereby became intirely *Roman*.

Vel. Pat. B. 1. c. 14.

§. VIII. THE *Salentines*, whoſe chief Cities were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brunduſium*, were now

now almoſt the only people in the eaſtern extremity of *Italy*, that remained unſubdued to the *Romans*. It was eaſy for the ambitious Republick to invent pretences to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The next year's *Conſuls*, *L. Julius Libo* and *M. Atilius Regulus* took *Brunduſium*; but as the brave *Salentines* diſputed their country inch by inch, the two Generals were obliged to leave their conqueſt to be finiſhed by their ſucceſſors. Theſe were *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, who, having firſt ſubdued the *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*, totally reduced the *Salentines* (though they had brought the *Meſſapians* or *Iapygians* into their quarrel.) The reduction of two nations in one campaign procured each *Conſul* two Triumphs, a thing unheard of before in the Republick.

Year of ROME cccclxxxvii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſixty-five.

186th Conſulſhip. Flor. B. 1. c. 20.

Faſt. Capit.

Rome was now become miſtreſs of all the different nations of *Italy*, from the fartheſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea, and from the *Tuſcan* Sea croſs the *Apennines* to the *Adriatick*. But theſe nations had not all the ſame privileges, nor were upon the ſame footing in point of ſubjection. Some were ſo intirely ſubject to *Rome*, as to have no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old cuſtoms and forms of government. Some were tributary, others barely allies, who were bound to furniſh the *Roman* army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some had the privileges of *Roman Citizenſhip*, and their ſoldiers were incorporated in the *Legions*; others had likewiſe a right of ſuffrage in the elections made by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. Theſe different degrees

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of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded in the different terms granted by the conquerors in their treaties with the vanquiſhed; and theſe honours and privileges were afterwards increaſed, according to the fidelity of the ſeveral cities and nations, and the ſervices they did the Republick.

186th Conſulſhip.

§. IX. AFTER the great increaſe of power and dominion which the *Romans* acquired by their victories over *Pyrrhus* and his *Italian* allies, free Cities and whole Nations beyond the ſeas began to follow the example of the King of *Egypt*, and court the friendſhip of the Republick. *Apollonia*, ſituated over-againſt *Brunduſium*, was the firſt City of *Macedon* that ſent Ambaſſadors, to deſire her protection. Theſe Ambaſſadors were received with honour by the Senate; but afterwards, upon ſome occaſion not known, were inſulted by *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, young *Romans* of great diſtinction, and at this time *Ædiles*. So grievous a breach of the law of nations required ſatisfaction; nor did the Republick refuſe it. The young men were condemned to be delivered up into the hands of the Ambaſſadors, in order to be tranſported to *Apollonia*, and there puniſh'd at the pleaſure of the People. This was ſhewing the *Apolloniates* all the Regard poſſible; and they, in their turn, ſhew'd a prudent reſpect for the *Roman* Senate. *Fabius* and *Apronius* were hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to *Rome*. And this memorable event gave riſe to a law (which ſubſiſted ever after) *That if any Citizen,*

Liv. Epit. 15. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 6.

Dig. Parag. de Legat.

of

of what quality ſoever, inſulted an Ambaſſador, he ſhould be deliver'd up to the injured nation.

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And now the great affair of the Republick under the adminiſtration of the *Conſuls Q. Fabius* * *Gurges* and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, was to regulate her Revenues. Theſe revenues aroſe from the tributes each province was to pay; from the rents of certain arable and paſture lands, which the Republick reſerved as her demeſnes, whenever ſhe divided any conquer'd lands among the Citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands dependent on her; and laſtly from the impoſts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. It has been already obſerved, that four Officers, with the title of *Quæſtors*, had the charge of receiving and diſburſing the Publick Moneys. *Valerius Poplicola*, ſoon after the birth of the Republick, deſiring to eaſe himſelf of the care of the Finances, had appointed two: To theſe *Sempronius Atratinus*, in the year 333, being then *Military Tribune, with Conſular Authority*, had added two more, whoſe peculiar buſineſs was to attend the *Conſuls* in their expeditions, keep the military cheſt, pay the troops, and ſell the ſpoils and priſoners taken from the enemy. The *Quæſtors* neither of the one nor of the other inſtitution had any of the great badges of diſtinction annexed to their offices. They had neither *Curule Chairs*, nor *Lictors*, nor *Apparitors*; nor could they refuſe to appear before the *Prætor*, upon a ſummons from even the meaneſt of the Citizens. The only privileges they had were thoſe of aſſembling the *Comitia* at *Rome*, and ſpeaking to

187th Conſulſhip.
* a third time.
Cic. de Orat. pro Sext. & contra Rullum. Sueton.

Year of ROME cccclxxxviii. Bef. J. C. Two hundred ſixty-four.

them from the *Roſtra*, and haranguing the ſoldiers in the field.

The four *Quæſtors* had been found to be hardly ſufficient to go through the buſineſs belonging to them even before the late conqueſts; but now it was abſolutely neceſſary to augment the number of theſe officers; and four new ones were therefore created with the title of *Provincial Quæſtors*, to take charge of the four [a] provinces into which the Republick had divided her conqueſts.

187th Conſulſhip. Liv. Epit. B. 15.

The

[a] The ſeat or chief office of the firſt province was at *Oſtia*, a maritim city near *Rome*. This *Quæſtorſhip* reached, in all probability, from the head of the *Tiber* and the river *Arnus*, to the mouth of the *Liris*; and comprehended *Hetruria*, *Latium*, *Sabinia*, *Umbria*, and, in ſhort, all the coaſts of the *Tuſcan* ſea, and all the lands between that ſea and the *Apennines*. The ſeat of the ſecond province was at *Cale*, in the delightful country of *Campania*; and it reached from the *Liris* to the *Gulph of Tarentum*. This province contain'd *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Bruttii*, and *Oenotria*; and within it were many rich maritime cities. The third province reached from the *Apennines* to the ſhore of the *Adriatick* ſea, and was called the *Gallick Quæſtorſhip*. It contained the countries formerly conquer'd by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Senones*, from the river *Rubicon* to the *Æſis*. But notwithſtanding its name, it contained alſo *Picenum*, the country of the *Frentani*, and all the other countries as far as *Apulia*. And laſtly, the fourth *Quæſtorſhip*, of which we have not ſo diſtinct an account as of the other three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the territories of the *Salentines*, *Meſſapians*, and *Tarentines*. A fine province, if we conſider the great number of its ſea ports, into which merchandizes were imported from *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. For theſe four provinces *Rome* created four new *Quæſtors*; and it was then ſettled, that all the eight *Quæſtors* ſhould for the future be choſen in *Comitia by Tribes*.

5 After

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The uſual fortune of *Rome* during any interval of tranquillity, did not fail to attend her at this time. A moſt dreadful Plague raged both in the City and in the Country. The *Sybilline* books, according to cuſtom, were hereupon conſulted; and it was there found, that ſome ſecret crimes had drawn down the wrath of Heaven upon the Republick. A veſtal, named *Caparonia*, proved the unhappy victim, ſacrificed to the prepoſſeſſions of the People. Being convicted of incontinency before the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*, they condemned her to be buried alive; and though to avoid

187th Conſulſhip. Oroſius, B. 4. c. 8.

After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight *Quæſtors* drew lots, in the preſence of the People, to decide which ſhould have the *Roman*, which the *Military*, and which the *Provincial Quæſtorſhips*. The four *Provincial* ones were moſtly deſired by the ambitious before *Rome* had extended her conqueſts beyond *Italy*; but when ſhe had brought the Eaſt and Weſt into ſubjection to her, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces under her domination, the four *Italian* provinces were but little coveted by the *Quæſtors*, who were multiplied in proportion, as the Republick enlarged her conqueſts. The *Proconſuls* and *Prætors*, that is to ſay, the Governors of thoſe remote provinces, had each his *Quæſtors*, or Superintendant of the *Finances*, for his Government: and theſe Governments being large and rich, and far out of the Senate's ſight, the *Quæſtors* were fond of going thither, where they could raiſe more money, and were more honoured and reſpected; for here they wore the *Prætexta*, and were attended by *Lictors*, as appears from *Cic.* 3d Orat. contra *Verr.* For all theſe reaſons, when the *Quæſtors* drew lots for their provinces, the man to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell became the jeſt of the people. *He goes to the waters*, ſaid they; meaning, that he was going to enjoy his repoſe near *Rome*, much as thoſe *Romans* did, who went to *Baiæ* or *Puteoli* for the waters. *C. & R.*

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avoid ſo cruel a death ſhe ſtrangled herſelf, the ſame ceremonies of interment were performed upon the dead body, as if ſhe had been living.

Notwithſtanding the havock made by the plague, the number of Citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a *Cenſus* taken this year, to be 292,224. Doubtleſs the *Sabines*, to whom the right of ſuffrage had been lately granted, muſt have been reckoned in this enumeration. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, one of the *Cenſors*, had on account of his extraordinary merit been elected, contrary to cuſtom and his own earneſt remonſtrances, a ſecond time to this office; and hence probably he acquired the ſurname of *Cenſorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. *Plutarch* tells us, that to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law paſs'd, forbidding any perſon to hold the *Cenſorſhip* a ſecond time.

287th Conſulſhip. Liv. Epit. 16. Eutrop. B. 2. c. 18.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1. Plut. Life of Coriolanus.

The preſent *Conſuls* were ſtill at *Rome*, wholly employed in civil affairs, when on a ſudden a war ſprung up in the very bowels of the Republick. *Volſinii*, a conſiderable City of *Hetruria*, had been by Treaty allowed to enjoy her own laws and form of government; but the *Volſinienſes* had ſince fallen into ſloth and luxury, neglected their laws, deſpiſed the publick offices, and ſuffered their Freed-men to uſurp them. Theſe Freed-men by degrees had made themſelves tyrants in the little Republick; and it was their whole buſineſs to mortify their old maſters. They not only with all licentiouſneſs invaded their wives, but paſſed a law, that no Virgin daughter of a man free-born ſhould be married to a huſband

Zonaras, B. 8. Flor. B. 1. c. 21. Author. de Viris Illuſtr. c. 36. Val. Max. B. 9. c. 1.

band of the like condition, till ſhe had ſubmitted to the paſſion of a freed-man. And to all theſe inſolences they added Baniſhments and Proſcriptions of the moſt worthy Citizens. The *Volſinienſes* not being able to help themſelves, ſent Deputies privately to implore the protection of the Senate of *Rome*. But though the negociation was thought to be carried on with perfect ſecrecy, the Freed-men got notice of it, and put the Deputies to death at their return; and when *Fabius Gurges*, who undertook with a ſmall army of voluntiers to chaſtiſe them, came near their City, he found them upon their guard; nay, the Freed-men ventured to face him in the field, and gave him battle. The *Conſul* put them to the rout; but as he was entering the Town with the run-aways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand, and then the *Romans* were repulſed. After this *Decius Mus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Fabius*, beſieged the place in form; and in the year following it ſurrendered to the *Conſul Fulvius Flaccus*. The Freed-men, who had uſurped the magiſtracies, and acted the whole ſcene of villainy, were all put to death; the City was razed, and the Inhabitants tranſplanted to another.

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187th Conſulſhip.

Theſe laſt particulars are here mentioned a little before their time, that they may not hereafter interrupt the relation of more important matters; the cauſes and commencement of the FIRST PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN War.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM